PANDIT DEENDAYAL UPADHYAYA IDEOLOGY AND PERCEPTION PART F RASHTRA

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Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya

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IDEOLOGY AND PERCEPTION

PART V

CONCEPT OF THE RASHTRA

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Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya - Ideology And Perception

PART - V : CONCEPT OF THE RASHTRA

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A Word from the Author

It was mainly through the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) that my acquaintance with Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya began and grew. We met at a number of RSS programmes, and we had opportunities of living together. I the very good fortune of spending ten days together with him in a camp at Indore in 1960. I heard his talks on RSS in a number of programmes and had many discussions with him. I never entered the field of active politics, but being the editor of a daily newspaper ideologically akin to the RSS, I had a number of discussions with him from time to time on the principles and policies of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh, its precise role in the political field, and the dissemination of the Sangh ideology through the Jana Sangh, and the chain of events in the post-Independence period.

The clear impact on my mind through all these exchange of thoughts and the close observation of his actual life was that this man had imbibed the essence of the age-old Hindu Life-thought and stood undeterred in perfect self-confidence. He had completely identified himself with those thoughts and had defined the plans for the rise of modern India in the light of that knowledge. He was in complete unison with the thoughts of Shri Guruji, Sarsanghachalak of the RSS. His image, deeply engraved in my heart, is that of a man who, whatever platform he spoke from, gave expression to the national sentiments of the Indian nation, whose words, writings and actions were all devoted to the task of the exposition of Hindu nationhood.

My friend Shri Rajabhau Nene approached me one day with the proposal of introducing the young generation to the wealth of Pandit Deendayalji's thoughts, and expressed a desire that I should write something about Panditji's views on nation and nationhood.

I felt that the scheme was most well-timed and appropriate, and was very glad that I was offered the opportunity to participate in it. I thought it appropriate because I am of the opinion that the new generation which is coming forward with courage in various fields of activity and particularly in the political field must acquaint itself with the thoughts about the Motherland as a nation. If this thought percolates deep into their minds, their life will have a mission and there will be no doubt about the goal to be pursued in their activity. There will be no scope for the discrepancies that creep into life in the absence of well-defined and noble ideals. Another incentive was that the fulfilment of this responsibility of writing would provide me with an opportunity to ponder deeply and freshly over the wealth of Deendayalji's thoughts, that I would be required to refer to his writings over and over again, word by word, and that I would be in the company of his thoughts, though not of his person.

But when I actually started my work, I realised how difficult it all was. It struck me that the range of Panditji's thought is very vast. How lofty is his genius, taking in its purview the past and present of our nation and clearly expounding the direction of the task ahead of us in future! He is a great expounder of the Hindu way of life. The task of explaining the entire content he wanted to convey really needs to be entrusted to some equally great genius. I am conscious of my limitations and it is within these limits that I have tried in my own small way to place Deendayalji's views before the nation.

The main purpose of this volume is to provide a further exposition, in the context of the present situation, of the thoughts Deendayalji expressed in his pithy style. The object also is to collect closely related thoughts strewn in a variety of articles and speeches and place them before the reader. The assistance and guidance of thinkers who have thought and written about Hindu national life were essential for such a task. Fortunately, the illuminating basic thinking of enlightened thinkers like Lokmanya Tilak, Swatantryaveer Savarkar, Shri Guruji, Balshastri Hardas and others is available, and I had to go through that again. Illuminating writings based on years of close study and observation made by Sarvashri J.D. Joglekar, Dattopant Thengadi, K. Sudarshan, Prof. Rajendra Singh, H.V. Seshadri, Dr. V.V. Pendse, "Mamarao Date etc. proved to be supportive to Panditji's theories. Prof. P.K. Savlapurkar's translation of Daishik Shastra was of great use in clarifying the concepts of Chiti and Virat. The writings of Deendayalji himself on nationhood were a matter of constant pondering and analysis for me. Efforts have been made in this volume to present Deendayalji's views as simply as possible and from various angles. It is not for me to say how far I have succeeded in this, but I must state that the time spent was very happily and fruitfully utilised in the company of these thoughts. I had very useful discussions with friends like Shri Dattopant Thengadi, Rajabhau Nene, Appasaheb Sohoni, Shri Vinayakrao Joshi of the Bharatiya Vichar Sadhana etc.

I am aware that I made liberal encroachments on their time, I take this opportunity to express my gratitude to them all. I must, however, place on record that everyone, to whom I spoke about the project, very enthusiastically welcomed it. We owe a considerable Rishi rina (indebtedness to rishis, sages and preceptors). Everyone would be happy that Shri Rajabhau Nene and all his colleagues made an effort to make at least a partial repayment of the debt through this project. It is true that it is necessary to bring before today's generation in a comprehensive manner an in-depth study of every field of social life, its problems and the practical guidance to help solve all its problems. The most that can be claimed about this volume is that it provides some material giving some momentum to this study.

It is obviously altogether beyond my capacity to give adequate expression to the vision of Hindu nationhood vividly and clearly as seen by Pandit Deendayalji, whose heart was filled to the brim with the devotion for the Motherland and who had a most discerning and alert mind. I only hope that readers will graciously appreciate this humble effort to retrace his thoughts on nationhood.

- C.P. Bhishikar

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Introductory

Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya was a prominent leader of a growing political party in post-independence India and also its chief organiser. Naturally, it was imperative for him to attend to the day-to-day problems before the country, governmental policies, elections, agitations, calamities, party propaganda etc.-problems which political workers cannot escape. Yet it was a fortunate coincidence that Deendayalji entered the field of politics after imbibing a certain view of life and training in value-based living. In fact, he accepted political party work with a definite mission in his mind viz. to project genuine nationalistic thought in the political sphere. As a result, he was not engulfed in the immediate and the expedient nor was his study of problems restricted to the limited aim of the attainment of political power. He never accepted short-sighted compromises nor did he allow himself to be carried away by the pressure of passing events and circumstances. Inspite of being a political leader, his approach was that of a nation-builder. He visualised the activity of a political party only as a means to nation-building end. Consequently, his thinking on national issues touches wider horizons and is basic in character. He gave a jolt to many current ideas and notions and through his writings he expounded his views on the ethos of our national life.

Positive Approach

Contemplating on the prevailing conditions in our country, he was naturally confronted with many problems and he had to face them, with the national reality clearly in mind. Why did our Motherland come to be partitioned? A truncated India became free from British yoke. The stewardship was passed on to those stalwarts who had led the struggle against the British under the banner of the Congress party. And yet the nation failed to become strong and unified. Why? Why were the leaders so impatient to seek rewards for their sacrifice during the struggle for independence? Why is internal conflict constantly on the increase? Why does the general public lack the urge to make our country strong and prosperous? Why is the democratic set-up becoming more and more corrupt every day? Why are foreign interference and dependence on foreign aid on the ascent? No one had expected such degeneration immediately after independence. As a matter of fact, the general public expected that the government of free India, inspired by idealism, would concentrate on the work for national welfare. But actually all these problems raised their ugly heads. And their analysis was a crying need. Yet the line of thought of those who mattered was too superficial in character and not consistent with the real nature of the nation's ethos. It is only after a correct diagnosis of the malady that proper treatment and remedial measures become possible. This awareness led Pandit Deendayalji to delve deep into the very roots of the problem and so he confidently declared: "The notion of territorial nationalism is wrong." All through the struggle for independence, it was taken for granted that the Indian nation is formed of all those people who reside in this land. This resulted in the unthinking acceptance of territorial nationalism. Efforts were made to urge all residents in this land to come together and participate in the struggle against British rule. For this, some intransigent separatists were wooed and appealed to beyond limit. The main plank of Deendayalji's approach was to prove beyond doubt the unscientific and un-historical nature of this concept of territorial nationalism. It was not enough merely to aver that the concept of territorial nationalism is wrong. Naturally, it was essential for him to put forth a plausible theory of how a nation is formed and how a consciousness of its ethos is necessary to keep it healthy.

He thought over all this from various angles and with convincing instances. He formulated a completely logical theory of nationhood, keeping clearly in view the actual realities of the modern world and modern life.

Another important thought he stressed was that we missed the true taste of freedom because we were obsessed with the misleading notion that freedom consisted merely in overthrowing foreign rule. Opposition to a foreign government does not necessarily imply genuine love for the Motherland. Patriotism is indeed a strong positive urge. During the struggle for independence great emphasis was laid on the opposition to British rule. Our political leaders tried to develop this very negative motivation in the minds of our people. It came to be believed that whoever opposed the British was a patriot. A regular campaign was launched in those days to create utter disaffection against the British by holding them responsible for every problem and misery which the people in our country had to face. This one-sided, negative notion of patriotism was chiefly responsible for the utter neglect of the real, positive love of the land. No deep consideration was given to questions like whose nation this is, what is freedom for, what kind of life do we want to develop here, what set of values are we going to accept, and no unequivocal answers to these questions were placed before the people during the struggle for independence. Constant and strenuous efforts were made to bring about *Hindu*-Muslim unity only through the notion that patriotism lies in opposition to a third party. One of the significant aspects of our politics even before divided India attained freedom in 1947 was that we made consistent attempts to appease groups, small or large, which remained doggedly aloof from the struggle for independence. The pathetic appeal made to Shri Jinnah to give up his insistence on the partition of India in return for anything he asked for was ruthlessly spurned. This led the fatigued, exhausted Congress leaders to accept helplessly the dole of the freedom of divided India. So the British left and the inevitable series of effects arising out of utter disregard for positive patriotism fell to our lot.

Disease in the Post Independence India

The foreign power against which we consistently raised slogans for about fifty years disappeared from the Indian national scene all of a sudden, and a vaccum stood gaping before the people accustomed to negative patriotism. Since positive love for the land had never been imbibed, no significant national ideal remained as a challenge before the people. Even the weak chord of self-respect that existed in the anti-British freedom-struggle was now totally snapped and life came to be centered round money and greed-*Artha* and *Kama*. The passion for indulgence in luxury was suddenly stimulated. With the disappearance of the foreigners the itch for personal vendetta resulted in infighting. Dazed by the progress made by the so-called advanced countries in the materialistic field, we developed an inferiority complex and took to aping the foreigners under the name of "plans" and development projects. This process of blind imitation can be amply illustrated with instances around us today-right from Constitution-making to our democratic institutions, methods of production, our mode of life and our ideas about the relationship between the individual and the society. It is indeed tragic that such a bleak picture of political freedom accompanied by mental servility should emerge in an ancient nation like *Bharat*. This was the result of the absolute lack of a positive concept of patriotism, a comprehensive vision of our entire national existence-the nation as a complete entity, its security, its unity, its growth and development, the welfare of the entire populace and the full development of every individual. This has made our selfish desires predominant. Several small and big groups are out to fight for narrow, selfish interests, and instead of an integrated society, we find evil forces of disintegration and division running riot within us. Deendayalji thought that these things deserved to be carefully considered. In his diagnosis of this malady and his prescription for a healthy society he says: "All our ailments in today's political life have their origin in our avarice. A race for rights has banished the noble idea of service. Undue emphasis on the economic aspect of life has generated a number of lapses. Human feelings and values of life have lost their importance. Instead of character, quality and merit, wealth has become the measuring rod of individual prestige. This is a morbid situation. It must be our general approach to look upon money only as a means towards the satisfaction of our everyday needs: not an end in itself. In short, we must change our attitude to life. This transformation in our attitude can be brought about only on the basis of the ideals of Indian culture. Only if these glorious cultural values are reinstated, the eradication of evils rampant in different fields of national activity is possible."

(Rashtra Jeevan Ki Disha)

True Nation-building

The above discussion will help elucidate the positive content of Deendayalji's concept of patriotism. He made an all-out attempt to illustrate this content through his writings, speeches and actual day-to-day life. All workers in the political and cultural fields have to face the same problems: all leaders speak about the evil effects of poverty, unemployment, social inequalities and the mad race for grabbing maximum political and financial gains on the basis of caste, religion, sect, language etc. If there is any difference, it is about the diagnosis and methods of eradicating these evils. Quite a few thinkers have gone to the extreme of arguing that it was because the *Hindus* tried to organise themselves that a sense of insecurity was created amongst Muslims and this led them to demand a separate state for themselves. Pandit Deendayalji stated that for any nation to experience genuine national independence and to find any plan conducive to its welfare, proper attention must be paid to grasp the significance of its inherent character, culture and spiritual urges. This, according to him, was where we blundered. National reconstruction does not, at all, mean the obscurantist plan of recreating the nation's ancient life in its entirety. Much water has flown down the Ganga here and elsewhere during the thousand years of our slavery. No one can afford to forget this fact. It will not be helpful to turn back the hands of the clock, which would be an exercise in futility. What we must insist on is the fact that reconstruction has to be around our time-honoured values of life. Whatever new ideas are accepted, they must be so modified as not to contradict our permanent values; we must re-model them so as to adjust them to our ethos.

The thoughtless aping of the thought currents that have: emerged in the West out of their special environment, their ideas about social and political change, their methods, their institutions and the life-style accepted by them has certainly done considerable harm to us. Deendayalji has warned us in the strongest possible terms that though our country attained political independence; the path of real freedom has been bogged down at every step by servile imitation, forgetting our ethos and also by our inferiority complex.

This must be said to be the crux of Deendayalji's entire thinking. Our ancient land has a special personality distinct from that of others; it has an ethos of its own. It has preserved a value-system which has stood the test of time. Whatever is in consonance with this national ethos will help increase our happiness, contentment and development and whatever is contrary to it will lead to harm.

Deendayalji often cited an instance in proof of his theory. The entire Western thought-stream has presumed a conflict between individual and society, the ruler and the ruled, the power of the clergy and temporal power, the haves and the have-nots. The main theme round which this conflict is woven is the concept of Rights. Western politics, social activity and economy have been shaped in the last three or four hundred years by the action and reaction of these conflicting forces. All Indian thinking, on the other hand, lays emphasis on co-operation and synthesis, not conflict. The emphasis is on duties, not on rights; on co-ordination and understanding, not on hatred and the insistence "I am always right." This has been our natural national predisposition. The enunciation of our social, political and economic policies - in utter disregard to these facts-inevitably led to disharmony and conflict. The false and ill-conceived notions fed by foreigners led us to lookdown upon our history and our ancestors. The enticing glamour of the so-called progressive-ness and rationalism led us to a self-destructive condemnation of our way of life. The loss of deep affection for our motherland resulted in corruption among the leaders and this corruption spread deep like cancer in the body politic.

The Urge for Self-Analysis

If this central theme of Panditji's analysis is kept in mind, it will explain the confusion in our present thinking and the history of our national degeneration. It will also throw clear light on what needs to be done for national reconstruction and reaping the real benefits of national independence. Today's need is that instead of looking towards others for inspiration, we turn the searchlight inwards. All our thinking, analysis, study and actual activity must be steered in the direction of self-revelation. The nation must be made aware of its real self, its true nature and mission. Without this there will be no awakening of its innate strength. There can be no true appeal to its dormant or manifest capabilities, nor can a living nation be built without the foundation of positive content. It is only with this awakening of the real nature of our ethos that we can eradicate the effects of the mistake we committed during our freedom struggle and continued to make even after the departure of the British. It is therefore most crucial that we study how nations are formed, what the concept of nationhood really signifies, what the real forces that lead to the rise or fall of a nation are in the light of history and the basic premises. It is absolutely needless to believe that only the history taught by the foreigners is correct or that all that they have said about India is in keeping with truth. We must interpret events independently and according to our own genius. Many wrong concepts have taken deep roots in the Indian mind because of continued distorted use of various terms. A number of fallacies have gained the prestige of proven theories. When all this ignorance is removed and the nation sees itself in its proper glory, the inherent capabilities of our country will rise in ebullient activity-Panditji craved to take our country to this stage of liberation but unfortunately he fell a victim to an unexpected murderous attack in 1968.

The Importance of this Analysis

Deendayalji placed before the country in the clearest terms the thinking and the pure motive forces which he thought most essential during the years before 1968. In the twenty years after his death the need for reawakening has been considerably enhanced by the march of events in our country and abroad. In every field of national life, thinkers are realising more and more that *swadeshi* thinking and policies are a crying need. There is considerable rethinking about where we went wrong, what has led to the present disastrous situation in our country, why instead of old problems resolving themselves, newer and more complicated problems are cropping up before our country every day and why we are being led to a regression in every field of life. This rethinking is now not limited to politics nor is it restricted to India alone. In a way, there is more and more thinking about crucial problems like human existence, its purpose, the good and evil effects of scientific and technological revolutions, modern sociological thought, the wonderful continuity of Indian national life and its potential strength to lead on the path of real progress the entire human society which is fast heading towards self-destruction again. This thinking is tending to go to the very root of the problem. It has been realised that schools of thought like socialism, communism, capitalism, individual liberalism are too lopsided and have their limitations. Attention of thinkers all over the world is drawn increasingly to the age-old thought devoted to these problems and the solutions provided by ancient Indian seers. The importance of Deendayalji's analysis is felt all the more prominently in this context also. Though he entered day-to-day politics on account of the directive of the RSS his mental make-up was that of an unattached seer who concentrates all his thoughts on the eternal well-being of the entire human race. It was not bound down by any selfish interest whatsoever. He took the extensive horizon of the entire human race within his purview. He looked upon nationalism as just a step towards the wider goal of the welfare of the human race. That is why it must be properly understood in the present circumstances. This way of thinking is not fettered by any particular obscurantist communal dogma nor is it generated by opposition to any particular situation. Its special feature is that it is positive and constructive.

No problem of importance is evaded here. The clue to the solution of every problem is indicated. Above all, it adheres firmly to the life-purpose of our ancient nation. His views have been enunciated with perfect consciousness of our glorious past, our present problems and a determined aspiration to build up a bright future.

If we want to remove the present confusion and conflicts of the ideological and practical nature in our free India, we will have to study thoroughly all the varied facets of his exposition of nationalism. The exact significance of the term 'glorious national life of *Bharat* must be properly grasped and the idealism within us must be aroused in the light of that concept of glory. What follows is a humble effort in that direction.

* * *

2

Bharat is unquestionably a *Hindu Rashtra*

When we speak of Deendayalji's thoughts, his analysis, his inferences, the term 'his' does not have a restrictive specific or distinctive connotation. In the case of men like Deendayalji, it is difficult to separate their thoughts from their life and actions. Our national tradition speaks through them. Thinkers and philosophers like Deendayalji, through their extraordinary genius, give only a new expression, in the light of the modern context, to those ideals and abiding philosophy which flowered in this soil for thousands of years and whose continuity thrived against all odds. They are modern exponents of our eternal national philosophy. The basic principles they propagate are not new. They are motivated by the sincere urge to remove the self-oblivion of their people and to awaken its consciousness and urge to act.

If we look at Panditji's life from this point of view, we will not fail to mark that in addition to his inborn piercing, probing intelligence, he was considerably benefited by years of national *sanskaras*. He came in contact with the RSS in 1937 and was completely absorbed in that work till 1951. During this period, his analytical power, thinking capacity and mode of living were provided with a firm foundation. He came into close contact with Shri Guruji, Sarsanghachalak of the RSS and completely identified himself with the RSS ideology. He was completely lost in his devotion to the Motherland. The *Hindu Rashtra* ideology, unequivocally accepted by the RSS, is basic to Deendayalji's thinking. The expression *'Hindu Rashtra'* and the basic principles of the *Hindu Rashtra* as an ideology were not invented by the RSS. Dr. K.B. Hedgewar, the founder of RSS, accepted the ideology of cultural nationalism, so clearly perceived and expressed by Swami Vivekanand, Shri Aurobindo, Lokamanya Tilak, *Swatantryaveer* Savarkar and others. Territorial nationalism implies that the Indian nation is formed of all those people who reside in this land. Nowhere in the world is this concept of 'Nation' is coincident with a particular territory and all the people residing there accepted. In our country, however, the term 'Indian', popularised by the Westerners to facilitate pronunciation, created great confusion. The historical and natural identity between '*Hindu*' and '*Hindusthan*' was cast aside; the term 'Hindi' was sought to be equated with the term 'Indian'. 'Indian Nationalism' came to mean *'Hindi Rashtravad'* ('Hindi nationalism'). An effort was consistently made to look upon Hindus, Muslims and Christians etc. as 'nationals' and forge them into an integrated force against the alien rule. Yet the confusion regarding nationhood was hardly felt till 1920, when the Congress under the leadership of Gandhiji adopted the *Khilafat* movement. Appeasement of the Muslims had not yet become part of the Congress policy. It was in the following years, however, that Muslim communalism became more and more aggressive and dogmatic on the one hand, and on the other, Congress leaders carried the idea of *Hindu*-Muslim unity to a ridiculous extent in the name of national interest. This is not the place to go into the details of the historical process. Suffice it to say that the pure and simple concept of nationalism came to be distorted more and more during the freedom movement between 1920 and 1947 and that prominent leaders tried to claim that the distorted idea was the real national concept. Any other way of thinking was branded as communal. The true devotees of the Motherland came to be regarded as communal and parochial in their own land.

When Dr. K.B. Hedgewar boldly proclaimed that India is a *Hindu*

Rashtra, it was because he clearly visualised the imminent danger to the future of the nation that this ideological confusion was likely to create. Hindus form nation in *Hindusthan* and their organisation must consequently be regarded as a national organisation. He came to the firm conclusion that unless the *Hindu* society became united and strong, our nation will not be able to finally overcome the threat to its very existence. He founded the RSS with national reconstruction as its goal. Panditji not only accepted this line of thinking, he also made it the subject of his constant meditation, study and deep dedication. He tried to reach the roots of the problem the historic concept of the nature of this nation developed through centuries, its fundamental values, and its reconstruction for the future. It is of course obvious that his thinking was strongly influenced by the logical argument of Sarsanghachalak Shri Guruji. The positive nationalistic thought of the RSS was completely assimilated by him and when, in reverence to Shri Guruji's wishes, he accepted the work of the political party, he naturally went on propounding, even in the political field, the theory identifying the *Hindu* way of life with the national way of life, instead of getting misguided by the popular theory of territorial nationalism. He was thoroughly convinced of the correctness of this ideology of cultural nationhood.

Lack of *Swadeshi* (Indigenous) Thinking

In this way, Deendayalji imbibed the line of RSS reasoning about the way in which harmful tendencies were increasingly nourished after the achievement of independence of partitioned India in 1947. He clearly saw that in our Constitution, economic policies, goals of development of the social structure, our models of building a glorious nation, there was no trace of indigenous thinking. *Bharat* is an ancient land with thousands of years of history behind it. Great, selfless seers here have given deep thought to the purpose of human life, from the social as well as individual point of view. There doesn't seem to be any awareness now that we can search for and decide our future course in the light of this precious heritage. In one place, Panditji has given a very effective expression to this agony when he writes: "We became free in 1947. The English quit India. We felt that what was considered to be the greatest obstacle in the path of our effort of nation-building was removed and were all of a sudden faced with the problem as to what the significance of this hard earned independence was. What pattern of life do we want to develop here? As a nation, what are our ideals and our criteria for a meaningful existence? Since we had no clear vision of our true national identity here, we could not utilise political freedom to realise our national ideals. We aped the foreigners to such an extent that we failed to see that our inherent national ideals and traditions should be reflected in our Constitution. We satisfied ourselves with making a patchwork of theories and principles enunciated in the foreign countries. We have not yet been able to answer the basic question as to what kind of life we want to develop here. Because we failed to grasp the real spirit of our national life, we could not stand on our own legs. True, we made great efforts to attain national prosperity, but we failed miserably to understand what our ideal of national glory consists of, and how it should manifest itself in our onward march. Many have attempted to answer this question and yet we come to the same conclusion, that their thoughts have so far been based mostly on foreign ways of living and thinking. Some of them desire to build our society on the socialistic pattern, some on the communistic pattern; some speak of democratic socialism in which there is an effort for synthesis of socialism and individual freedom. All these efforts seem to have their genesis in patterns imported from foreign countries. In all walks of life, - economic, political, social, - all our thinking is based on foreign concepts. Our planners believe, as it were, that at no time has deep thought been given to these things in our ancient national traditions or that our national life is a product only of the past few years. The result was that our national culture and traditions were never at all reflected in these ideologies borrowed from elsewhere and so they utterly failed to touch the chords of our national being. These foreign thoughts would never inspire our people for self-sacrifice, hard work and total dedication. This has led to a mood of frustration in the people. The nation's confidence has been shaken. We have lost our incentive for hard work and this great society of crores of people has become a living example of complete dependence on others."

(Rashtra Jeevn Ki Disha)

The Basis of Cultural Unity

Pandit Deendayalji never compromised on his clear and unequivocal use of phrases like "our ancient nation", "our idea of a glorious life", "the philosophy of life here developed through the ages", "national self-respect" and "national character". Above all he made a clear exposition of our nationhood in a lucid and logically convincing manner. It is essential that we should properly understand the direction of his thinking in this respect. For it is only a clear understanding of the philosophy underlying our national life that can bring about a proper national reawakening. The education imposed in the days of the British, false and misleading theories which were deliberately disseminated, the tendency among our educated people to blindly accept these theories, the wrong policies adopted by the Congress party in the pre-independence period and the dogged propagation of the utterly misleading concept of nationalism by the then leaders for their selfish political ends even after the attainment of independence-all these led to the complete distorted connotation of the terms-communalism and nationalism. The primary need for the rebuilding of our nation is to free the national mind from this confusion and to provide a natural, positive content to their concept of nationhood. Two things are achieved if a clear concept of nationhood is developed. Firstly, every one has a proper criterion to judge national interest; secondly, efforts for progress in all walks of life get the right direction because of the constant awareness of our national ethos. Once we are clear about what values are vital, we can work for a prosperous future while adhering to our characteristic national qualities, our nation's mission and maintaining continuity in our past, present and future.

To sum up, Pandit Deendayalji, giving full consideration to thousands of years of our nation's history looks upon 'cultural unity' as the basis of our existence as a nation. What culture does he imply? Call it *Arya Sanskriti* or *Bharatiya* or *Vedic* culture or whatever other name you like for it is in the final analysis, *Hindu* culture. This culture was developed by people who were known in this land as the Hindus and so it has existed without doubt, as *Hindu Rashtra* from times immemorial. This is not a new discovery made by Panditji; from the earliest times we see that cultural unity is the foundation of our existence as one nation. Different political systems prevailed in this country at different times. Powerful kings built extensive empires under one rule in this land. A number of small States also existed in different parts of the country. The country had to face foreign aggressions and saw moments of triumph as well as defeat. Yet, there rarely was any confusion (at least till the onset of the British regime) about who were our nationals here and who were the aliens. Even when the Hindus loyally served the aggressors, they were completely conscious that it was the foreigner that they served.

The idea that we are building a new nation or that a new nation is emerging here is totally wrong. The nationhood that *Bharat* attained was not due to the mere existence of a people in this land. The notion that a nation is formed of all those people who live within certain territorial boundaries is not accepted anywhere in the world; the Congress tried to popularise it here. But it can certainly not be applied to an ancient nation like *Bharatvarsha.*

Difference in Developmental Process

Most of the Western countries were born in the recent past i.e. during the last four hundred years or so. The tests we may apply to their nationhood are not completely relevant to *Bharat;* nor can we compare the process of their development with that of *Bharat.*

While talking about India with reference to the Western countries it would be desirable to take into consideration some basic facts. First, things like the emergence of love for the nation, unity, integration and their growth were not the result of a reaction to any particular circumstances or events; it is entirely inherent, positive and born out of the selfless thinking of our ancient sages and seers. Even a casual glance at Western nationalism shows that its birth and development have arisen as a reaction to certain circumstances. The first thing that strikes us in this regard is that people occupying the European territory were mainly followers of the Christian faith. Nothing like the feeling of the nationalism had developed among them. The Pope's rule was supreme everywhere. In the Western terminology, we can say that religion and religious institutions completely dominated the whole of Europe. Gradually, however, people came to resent Pope's interference in their everyday worldly affairs as well as their modes of worship, and they started looking upon Pope as a foreign imperialistic power. This reaction against Papal power gave birth to the ideas of nation and nationalism. Thus, as we have said earlier, nationalism in Europe was a reactionary feeling. This feeling of nationalism and the power of Pope could simply not co-exist peacefully. This reactionary patriotism was also detrimental to international tolerance and peaceful co-existence. It was competitive, selfish and egotistic; it was conducive to the exploitation of the weak. As a result, a clear antagonism developed between nationalism and internationalism. In addition to this, every nation accepted free competition among its constituents, leading to two conflicting classes-the exploiters and the exploited. This tendency became more and more unbridled with the growth of the machine-dominated civilization. Even small children became victims of the industrial revolution. It was inevitable that this extreme, intolerant and uncultured nationalism and craving for profit, in its turn, led to another reaction. The result of this reaction was the birth of the communist ideology which spurned the very concepts of religion, nationalism and nationhood. An international movement based on class-struggle was launched. The question is: how far would it be logical and just to presume that the same process must have taken place in *Bharat* also? The concept of nationalism is a positive development in India, which took place at a time when the new concept of nationalism was not even born in other parts of the world. The *Bharat*iya concept is essentially different in nature and is aimed at taking humanity towards a definite goal of achievement.

All known history has, from the hoary past, looked upon *Bharat* as a well-knit nation. All known and unknown history has for all time recognised the relation between this land and its people as that of mother and sons. In the course of time, a number of upheavals took place, but the same cultural main stream had an uninterrupted sway here. This cultural stream embraces literature like the Vedas, the Upanishads, the Ramayana and the Mahabharat, the seers and sages who by their penance bestowed upon *Bharat-Bhoomi* the purity of a sacred land of self-realisation, an unbroken chain of valiant heroes and a set of National Values manifested through all these facets. *Bharatiya* culture has been enriched through the synthesis of all these. This culture has developed an inner unity and a sense of belonging in this society. In the long stream of its history the Hindus have shared the experience of identical happiness and misery and moments of triumph and humiliation; they had an extensive tradition of spiritual leaders and brave warriors; nursed similar aspirations about their motherland and have existed here as a nation in the real sense of the term. In order to form a nation, it is necessary to have people living in a common territory to make up a nation. So also are a certain emotional integration, an identity of national sentiments and an internal sharing of life-purpose essential. All the people living in a certain territory are not necessarily its nationals. Deendayalji has, with the help of apt examples, illustrated this concept in his article '*Rashtra- Prakriti* and *Vikriti'* (Nation-Its Health and Disease).

Truth Established by History

He says, "A nation is not a mere geographical unit. The primary need of nationalism is the feeling of boundless dedication in the hearts of the people for their land. It is because of this feeling of affection that we call it our Motherland. Our feeling for the Motherland has a basis: our long, continuous habitation in the same land creates, by association, a deep sense of 'my-ness'. Gradually, a common national history is developed. Some events involve our triumph, some our humiliation. The memories of our glorious deeds make us proud; ignominies make us hang our heads in shame. The memories of the aggressions by Mohammed Ghori or Mahamood Ghaznavi naturally fill us with agony. We develop a feeling of attachment for Prithviraj and other patriots. If, instead, any person feels pride for the aggressors and no love for the Motherland, he can lay no claim to patriotism. The memory of Rana Pratap, Chhatrapati Shivaji or Guru Govind Singh makes us bow down our heads with respect and devotion. On the other hand, with the very mention of the names of Aurangzeb and Allauddin, Clive or Dalhousie, we are filled with feelings of anger that are natural towards foreign aggressors. Thus, a nation is formed of people who live in a certain land, whose hearts are filled with pure love and dedication for the Motherland, whose ideals of life are similar, who have a certain common philosophy of life, whose ideas about their friends and foes are the same, and who share a common set of heroes and leaders in history."

There is really no ground for the least doubt in anybody's mind about the fact that Indian nationalism is *Hindu* nationalism. Which society looks upon this land as its Motherland? or worships her fervently like a goddess ? or remembers her again and again saying 'त्वं दुर्गा दशप्रहरणधारिणी' ('You are Durga, wielding ten weapons') ? or has the same national heroes in history ? Which society, if it is asked to choose between Rana Pratap and Akbar as their national hero, instinctively answers 'Rana Pratap'? Which society has a common view of life? However many questions are asked, the one inevitable answer is unequivocally - 'The *Hindu* Society'. This is the most positive stand. When the European society was divided into various nationalities, the Western thinkers tried to define the term 'nation'. Efforts were made to make a list of those constituents which are responsible for arousing the basic feeling of nationalism in the minds of crores of people. Many learned volumes were written on this subject. Western thinkers tell us: Nationalism as a political force is a product of the French Revolution and the situation created by it. Western writers have mentioned various constituents which go to make a nation, such as common race, language, religion, land, traditions, common calamities, means of transport, common political administration etc. It is their observation that the common existence of one or more predominant features among these goes to make and preserve a nation. No one has been able to name a definite set of all those constituents which apply to all the nations in the world. We see that race, language and religion are not common constituents which are universally applicable to all nations. Europe, following the same religion, is made up of various nations. In spite of the multiplicity of religions, *Bharat* is one nation. There are examples like Czechoslovakia where a number of ethnic groups have come together and formed a nation. This analysis has primarily been limited only to nations in Western Europe, but the study of nations like *Bharat* has found no place in it. Nations in Europe do not appear to have been formed at any one time or because of any particular set of reasons. The process started with England in the XVI century and we see a nation like Bulgaria appearing for the first time on the map of the world as late as 1908. We must always bear in mind that there is a basic difference between the Western concept of nation - which has arisen out of a machine - dominated civilisation full of brute strength and conflict and a totally different *Hindu* concept of nation. Considering that the inherent consciousness of unity, identical ties of history and tradition, relations of affinity between the land and the people and the same aspirations and hopes as broadly acceptable constituents, we reach the self-same conclusion that *Hindusthan* is a nation of the Hindus. None in the world would accept that a hotch-potch of people living in the same land but following mutually opposed ways of life and aspirations can be regarded as a Nation. There is no gainsaying the fact, whichever way we look at it, that *Hindutva* alone is the basis of nationalism in *Bharat*, remains unhampered. It is altogether wrong for the Hindus to prove their nationhood by European standards. It has been accepted as axiomatic for thousands of years.

Stranglehold of Perverted Thinking

So, the truth should be universally accepted that Indian nationalism is *Hindu* nationalism. But unfortunately the situation in our country is queer. Any organisation or institution or individual busy in propagating this hundred per cent true national thought that this is *Hindu Rashtra* is immediately branded as communal. This rarely happens in any other country. All are basically agreed on the nature of their nationhood, and if any differences do occur in the social, economic or political field, they occur without challenging that basic assumption. This confusion in thought about the nature of nationhood, nourished by the shrewd British rulers, has to be completely eradicated. Efforts in this direction are being made for more than seven decades. It is already sixty years since Swatantryaveer Savarkar wrote his excellent thesis '*Hindutva*', firmly establishing our nationhood. In fact Dr. Hedgewar went to the extent of saying that the *Hindu Rashtra* is a self-evident truth; there is no need to argue about it. Everyone knows what the word '*Hindu*' signifies, but it is this *Hindu* society itself which, through self-forgetfulness and lack of self-confidence, hesitates to assert strongly that this is a *Hindu Rashtra*. Shri Guruji, M.S. Golwalkar, made a tremendous effort continuously for thirty-three years to convince people of this truth and muster efficient strength behind it. He brooked no compromise about this principle of *Hindu* nationhood, and if anybody branded him communal, he never paid even scant attention to it. As a worker and philosophic thinker, Pandit Deendayalji had identified himself with Shri Guruji's thoughts. He undertook the responsibility of the care and development of the *Bharatiya* Jana Sangh, but he never forgot to identify *'Bharatiya'* with *'Hindu'*. That is why we see that while thinking about the problems before the nation as a political party worker or while explaining the Jana Sangh ideology, he never for a moment forgot the principle of the *Hindu Rashtra* theory. He always expounded the *Hindu* way of life as the national way of life. As a result, the so-called secular and progressive parties immediately dubbed Jana Sangh as communal and the tendency still persists.

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Sovereign *Dharma*

The critics of our true national identity, labeling the charge of communalism against its unequivocal and fearless advocates, offer mainly two arguments in support of their view. One is that *Hindu Rashtra* means a theocratic State propagating the *Hindu* religion. With the establishment of such a State, they argue, a revival of the ritualism associated with the *Hindu* religion, notions of casteism, the hierarchy of the *Varna* system, sacrifices, obscurantist traditions of social inequality will all inevitably reappear and the country will be robbed of all modern thought and scientific progress. While raising the bogey of revivalism, they launch a virulent attack on some customs, traditions, beliefs and articles of faith among the Hindus. They cite the examples of the history of events in Europe, the attempts of the Pope and the clergy to build a sovereign power and make political and administrative machinery a handmaid of the Church, and the way in which these attempts were foiled by people who waged a successful struggle against this encroachment and established a secular Stale. Their objection is against the emergence of a theocratic State which, they vehemently assert, advocates of *Hindu-Rashtra* want to establish here.

Their other argument which is based on the concept of territorial nationalism is summed up as follows: How can this country be called *Hindu Rashtra* if the inhabitants of this country are composed of Hindus, Muslims, Christians, parsis and others? The logical corollary of the use of the term *Hindu Rashtra* is that people of other faiths have no place here. If their right to reside in this land is forfeited, where are they to go? These and such other arguments are raised. It is argued that we are a secular State; we are not concerned with any religious faith; all men adhering to all religions must be welcomed to live here with honour.

Dharma is an entirely personal matter, to be confined to our home and family; it must not be allowed to dabble in government policies or with social life. Views of this kind are passionately put forth. Advocates of all political parties like the Congress, Socialists, and Communists etc. have, with this two-fold argument, consistently and profusely maligned the supporters of *Hindutva* and the advocates of *Hindu Rashtra* as communalists and obscurantist in the post-independence period. Slogans like 'Do not allow *Dharma* to interfere with polities', 'Maintain the secular nature of the State' have been shouted from the house-tops. But if we really search their real motive, what do we find? Right from the first general elections in 1952 to the latest elections, the use of the term 'secularism' and anti-*Hindu* propaganda is constantly being made to win the vote-banks of the so-called religious minorities, and very shrewdly too.

A fear psychosis is constantly developed, stating that if the advocates of *Hindu Rashtra* are allowed to become powerful here, it will be impossible for Muslims and Christians to live with honour and a sense of security in this country and that they will be exterminated. On the one hand, opposition to the *Hindu Rashtra* ideology has assumed the character of unbridled, unprincipled appeasement of the religious minorities and on the other, interested forces are trying to confuse the nationalistic and patriotic minds, thereby making the country a faction-ridden, spiritless weakling. Countries, in which patriotic spirit becomes feeble, fall an easy prey to such forces. Communists, Christians and Muslims are three virulent, intolerant communal forces eager to devour this great country. Had it not been for the dogged and determined efforts made in the last fifty years to make the flame of patriotism burn effulgent, the job of those who wanted to devour large chunks of this land would have been made much simpler and easier indeed.

Dharma is not Religion

While logically discussing his views on nationhood, Pandit Deendayalji has naturally given due thought to the objections of these critics and exposed their unhistorical and illogical character. For example, while refuting the theory equating *Hindu Rashtra* with a theocratic State, he has made a definitive analysis of terms like *dharma*, sect, state, nation etc. He has openly advocated the concept of a *Dharma-rajya* and contended that Hindus have never supported the idea of a sectarian State. Hindu rulers ruled over this country for thousands of years and their States were nothing but secular in character. When we say that they were secular, it means that no particular religion or sect received royal patronage here. No king used his kingly power to propagate any particular religion. The kings were expected to obey only one *dharma*. viz. *Raja-Dharma*. All our confusions in recent times emerge from the wrong belief that the two terms *dharma* and religion are synonymous. Westerners came to India and read and heard the word *dharma*, for which no equivalent really exists in English. As a result, they used the word 'religion', which in Europe refers to the rituals and methods of worship, as a handy substitute. A sect really suggests a group of people having in common a certain founder saint, a certain book incorporating the sect's teachings, a set of rituals and a certain mode of worship. Islam, for example, is a sect and so is Christianity. While these who have faith in Jesus and the Bible are Christians, those who have faith in Mohammed, the prophet and the Quran are Islamis. Sikhs, Bouddhas, Jains, Shaivitcs, Vaishnavites, Mahanubhavas, likewise, have each of them their sect. On the other hand, when you speak of Hindus, you do not visualise any particular prophet or saint, any book, rituals or adherents to a certain dogma. Thus, there is no Hindu religion in the sense in which the term 'religion' is generally understood. The word *'Hindu'* embraces a number of different religions and it would be more in keeping with reality to say that the *Hindu* society is a commonwealth of religions. In Deendayalji's view, again, the word *'samaj'* is not synonymous with the word 'society'. "What", he asks: "is the real meaning of the word *'Samaj'*? How was the *Hindu Samaj*, as we call it, formed? Whence did it come? When did it originate and how did it develop? We unthinkingly make a wholesale use of the word 'society' as if it were a synonym of *samaj*. Yet the original concept, origin and development of our *samaj* have hardly any similarity with those of 'society', though we hardly ever pause to think for a moment while using these terms."

For Deendayalji, *dharma, samaj,* nation and State were subjects of deep and ceaseless contemplation. He asserted that right from the earliest times, the Hindus firmly hold the view that a State must be secular. The Pope tried to raise an organised church and bring all Christian States under its control, and this led to a conflict. In India, such a phenomenon is altogether absent. No *acharya* ever tried to capture political power. Modern 'secularists' take it for granted that the development of the social, political and economic theories and institutions in Europe and in India must be parallel. True that in Europe, domination of the clergy, the feudal lords, kings, and emperors is a common pattern, in reaction to which there was a corresponding emergence of secularism, democracy, socialism, communism, individualism etc. But who amongst the rishis like Vasishtha, Vishvamitra, Yajnyavalkya, Veda Vyasa, - or coming to modern times, sages like Shri Shankaracharya or Swami Ramadas ever established a theocratic rule ? Their role was that of a selfless, enlightened seer or philosopher who craves for the welfare of the human race. Their work was limited to preaching the benevolent, entirely human *dharma.* To use today's terminology, they enunciated the fundamental laws of life, and the State only looked after their adherence by all. In other words, the leaders of the State, unlike their modern counterparts, did not formulate their laws with their eye on selfish interest; *dharma* was the supreme authority. *Dharma* did not mean rituals. It involved the enunciation of all those duties and obligations of everyone, both as an individual and as a member of the society, at different stages in life and in different roles for the attainment of the ultimate purpose of human existence. The preachers of this *dharma* were conscious of the fact that though the highest goal of life is unchanging and eternal, the external forms it takes are varied and changeable. A ritual, clearly showing that the ruler was neither above nor beyond the dictates of *dharma*, used to be performed as part of the *Rajasuya* sacrifice. The sovereign king used to proclaim loudly three times: 'No power can punish me' and the royal Purohit gave a light flick of his *dharma-danda* (sceptre) three times on his back, warning him each time: 'you will always remain punishable by the sceptre of *dharma*'.

That which Sustains is *Dharma*

Pandit Deendayalji has, therefore, strongly advocated the *Hindu* ideal of *dharma* as the guiding principle of State activities, whatever the external structure or system of administration and irrespective of whether the head of the State was a King or an elected Prime Minister. It is obvious that what is meant 'by this *dharma* is not religion or a mode of worship, but the *dharma* which maintains and stabilises life. Even though there are many modes of worship, the *dharma* is the same. Deendayalji has explained this concept with a number of practical examples. He says: "That is the real *dharma* which is beneficial to all, which makes the path of deliverance (*moksha*) easier. *Dharma* has been properly defined: धारणात् धर्म इत्याहुः धर्मो धारयते प्रजाः (*Dharma* is so called because it has the quality of sustaining : it sustains the people). *Dharma* is that force, system, essential quality, or set of rules which sustains a particular thing. That which sustains man is *manushya dharma*. That which sustains the body is *sharira dharma*. In the same manner, there are rules that sustained the people, subjects, and the entire animate and inanimate world beyond these. *Dharma* alone is the sustaining principle behind everything. In the absence of *dharma*, nothing can thrive; everything will be destroyed. For the human race, only that is *dharma* which sustains the whole Man-formed of body, mind, intelligence and soul. In addition to sustenance, *dharma* also fulfils the role of creating harmony. That is how rules of behaviour are established - rules that change from country to country and time to time, with the environment and objects involved. Some rules apply generally to all." The King, subjects, people, Prime Minister or dictator-none of them is really 'sovereign'. Pandit Deendayalji has argued with conviction and faith that *dharma* is supreme in all thought about our way of life, on the foundation of which the edifice of *Hindu Rashtra* has withstood all onslaughts for thousands of years and which we have the responsibility of preserving in the times to come.

Another misunderstanding has also gained ground due to the wrong meaning given to *dharma*. Sometimes it appears also in the writings of many so-called advocates of Hinduism. They think that if *dharma* attains prominence in the life of the society and governs its entire life, society loses all aspirations of worldly prosperity. It is alleged that since *Hindu* spiritual thought is prone to renunciation, the people at large remained cool and disinterested about events in national life; they whiled away their time and energy in idle repetition of the name of God; they sought individual deliverance and drifted away from their national duty. But it must be born in mind while stating that *dharma* is the sustainer, ancient seers also said that this very *dharma* achieves for us both worldly and other-worldly objectives. It does not want us to renounce worldly prosperity. The insistence is rather on the fact that mere worldly prosperity does not bring perfection to human life. The *Hindu* idea of a glorious community life is that it should flower richly in both worldly and spiritual fields. The governance of *dharma* has therefore to be accepted for attaining the real fullness of life.

Shrimat Adya Shankaracharya was a *Sannyasi* from his boyhood days. He is the most famous exponent of the *Maya* Philosophy. This philosophy has been considerably distorted. His main contribution in life has been recognised as that of defeating शून्यवाद (nihilism) and culminating in a golden age of *purushartha*. His definition of *dharma* is : जगतः स्थितिकारणं साक्षात् प्राणिनामभ्युदयनिःश्रेयसहेतुः स धर्मः। (*Dharma* is the sustaining force behind this world and its objective is the actual worldly prosperity and spiritual bliss of all beings : that is *dharma*.) It is crystal clear from this that *dharma* does not neglect worldly prosperity. The soul resides in man's body but we insist that the man who has nothing else in life except food, sleep, fear and sex is no better than a beast. The *Hindu* philosophical theory that *dharma* sublimates human life is based on the view that human life is fruitful only when man experiences the eternal spiritual bliss which is beyond all sensual pleasures. *Dharma* makes us realize this. Forgetting *dharma* is being ensnared in animal passions, which results in great harm to the happy and co-coordinated life of a society. This spiritual bliss is not imaginary; we have an unbroken line of saints who had personally experienced this blissful state during the past thousands of years. It has in fact been proved to be the distinguishing feature of *Hindu* national life and life-thought. It is our firm belief that the set of qualities and ideas required to develop a conflict-free, co-coordinated edifice of individuals, family, society, nation and the entire human world can be properly built up only in this scheme of life. Man's body will work, become strong, attain prosperity but while doing all this; *dharma* will see to it that it is all conducive to the glory of the *atma*. It is this that is suggested in *Maharshi* Vyasa's rhetorical question धर्मादर्थश्च कामश्च स धर्मः किं न सेव्यते? (When you know that both *artha* and *Kama* are achieved by *dharma*, why not follow *dharma*?). *Artha* and *kama* are both to be controlled by *dharma*. This means that *dharma* obliterates all licentiousness and immorality. Instead of unbridled selfishness, lasciviousness, competition, envy and dissention, virtues like love, tolerance, complementariness, sacrifice and co-ordination are nurtured. Both individual and society can cheerfully strive towards their goal in life. The realization of the goal in life and the worldly force so necessary to attain spiritual bliss also require certain favourable material conditions.

Nation and National Heroes

The above discussion will show that the sovereignty of *dharma* does not make life one-sided on any plane; instead, it helps life blossom on all sides. In his introduction 'The Sacred Streams of

Nationalism' appended to his biography of Shrimat Adya Shankaracharya, which is included in the collection of his articles captioned *'Rashtra-chintan'*, Pandit Deendayalji stated two points which we should deliberate upon. The first is: "The life of a nation is not made or destroyed in a day or in a few years. No man, however great or heroic he may be, can build the national life of his country by developing his mental, spiritual or physical powers in isolation from the ethos and traditions of his country. Great men, indeed, are the towering manifestations of all social attainments. They are a visible culmination of the intellectual transformation taking place in society for years together. Their extraordinary powers and glory, their all-embracing genius, their life of endless toil and their all-pervasive impact dazzle us so completely that we tend to forget the main stream of national life that produced them.... This inherent strength of the life-stream of the society finds a natural expression at different epochs in the form of the *sadhana* and achievement in the lives of outstanding personalities, assuming a base and external form suited to these times.

"So, in order to understand and assess any great man, it is necessary to grasp the nature of the cumulative social effort in that particular period. It is only when we study the thought-processes in his era that we can really understand the importance of Shrimat Shankaracharya as an epoch-maker."

The main point in this line of argument is quite clear. From the wider national point of view, just one thing must be remembered: however lofty a wave may be, it is essentially a part of the sea. The wave exists because of the existence of the sea; nor does it contain anything but sea-water. It is part and parcel of the sea. Can we ever think of a wave without thinking of the sea? Similar is the phenomenon of great men. Great men are born because their society has, through its traditions, the inherent ability to waft them on top like a wave. The entire society owning these traditions, therefore, takes great pride in such great heroes, and the society's feeling of affection or its absence to them is one of the tests of nationalism. In Shankaracharya's life and mission, we see an epoch-making revelation of the *Hindu* thinking and way of life. That makes us proud of him. No one can feel this sort of pride for anyone who keeps himself aloof from this mainstream and tries to strike a blow to it. Such persons may be brave; they may be philosophers; they may possess multifarious excellent qualities; but they will never find a place among our great national heroes. How can both Akbar and Rana Pratap be our heroes at the same time? Only Rana Pratap will claim our regards. Everyone may refer to his own conscience for the answer, for the question is very vital in the definition of our nationhood.

The other thought-provoking argument in Deendayalji's article is that the material prosperity of *Bharat* was at its zenith exactly at that time when the supremacy of *Sanatana Dharma* was firmly established. This was the time in our history when we lived in a golden age and the whole world described this country as the golden land. Vulgarity, poverty, parasitism, dwarfishness were nowhere to be found in that life. Great religious preachers, world-conquering emperors, authors of world-famous classics, great artists with a miraculous sweep of genius expressed in drama, dance, music, painting and sculpture, scientists, discoverers and inventors, bold sages who travelled far and wide throughout the world to preach the message of *dharma* there, traders who gained trust and renown in the international market-we see an almost mystifying flowering of national progress and prosperity in this era. This led to the great strengthening of our national cultural unity and deep devotion for the Motherland. Systems to make these last were stream-lined, established and developed in this period. Social consciousness became so formidable that foreign aggressors and fissiparous tendencies were easily nullified. Our rich tradition expressed itself in various new forms. *Shakas* and Huns came here as aggressors and were completely assimilated in the system here. The Bouddha and Charvaka philosophies repudiating the tradition were thrown out as unacceptable. The zenith of prosperity reached by the Hindus in worldly life without overlooking the major emphasis of Vedantic philosophy became a subject of attraction and wonder to the world. While depicting this heartening grand scenario, Pandit Deendayalji has also discussed the way in which the ethos of *Hindu Rashtra* was evolved, and he also indicated how the urge for active hard work towards prosperity can now be kindled again by maintaining our affinity with the *Hindu* ethos. Some thinkers are trying to interpret history in the light of materialism; others are even trying to impose the Western pattern of historical process on *Bharat.* What exactly is not being done, however, is to trace the manner in which the visionaries of the past, accommodating all the people in the wider field of *dharma*, succeeded in making the nation truly prosperous. Deendayalji felt that this was a great lacuna in the efforts made for the reconstruction of a flourishing nation in the post-independence period. We have now more than realised the futility of the efforts giving prominence to mere outward, physical progress at the cost of the consideration of the spirit and ethos of the nation. Some people try to make an appeal to people for integration only on materialistic grounds, in utter disregard to the various factors involved in the shaping of national unity-factors like the four dhamas, the twelve *jyotirlingas* the *shakti-peethas* of the Goddess Mother, the sacred places of pilgrimage spread all over the land, rivers, mountains and cities which have been a subject of daily reverential morning prayer, the feeling of deep devotion towards great sages and the weaving of all these into a throbbing inner awareness of a binding national unity. How then can these appeals on mere material plane reach the innermost core of the people's hearts?

Effort to Suppress Truth

All these things are closely connected with the main stream of *Hindu* life here and have been created on the basis of *Hindu Dharma* and culture. It is in this sense that *Hindu* nationalism has remained unbroken here since ancient times. It is no use denying the existence of this perennial life-stream. Whatever one may say, there is no escape from accepting this truth. In turning our back to the truth, we alone are the losers and have done great harm to ourselves.

Such harm has, indeed, already been done and we will continue to suffer persistently if we insist on denying this truth. There is a school of thought which propagates that India never was one nation and that it began to develop as a nation only under the British rule. They said, 'India is a nation in the making'. During the period of British rule, there were a number of well-known persons who subscribed to this concept and there are quite a few even today who do. In the Congress movement there were many people whose minds were divided on this issue of nationhood.

While the words that they spoke were adjusted to suit political expediency, in the innermost recesses of their hearts they entertained altogether different feelings. Had it not been so, the impassioned language of having become free from foreign yoke after a thousand years of slavery would never have spontaneously been spoken by the leaders. And they could not have indulged in puns on rhyming words like चीन and प्राचीन[1]. And a veteran leader like Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel would not have thought it so important to reconstruct the Sorti Somnath Temple destroyed by Mahamood Ghaznavi. And Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the first President of independent India, would not have presided over the inaugural function and the Government of India would not have officially arranged the celebration. It was quite natural that we should look upon the devastated temple of Somnath as a symbol of an onslaught on our nation. It was quite natural, again, that this sentiment should find a spontaneous vent after independence and that it should be recognised as such by the whole nation. It was a step in the right direction and an instinctive revelation of the national ethos. In line with this, it would have been gratifying to obliterate and destroy all symbols of foreign aggression of the last one thousand years. It would have proved to be a proper warning to the anti-national forces in the country. But political expediency prompted the repudiation of this approach and under the guise of separating religion from State administration, the rejection and humiliation of our real national self was consistently on the increase

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1. Hindi words चीन (China) and प्राचीन (ancient).

in independent India. The distortions in our life and thinking were nourished by foreign powers, foreign missionaries and the aggressive materialistic philosophies bent on weakening our country.

The fact is that State rule or political government was never the centre of the national life of *Bharat*. The unique feature of our national life is that the life and death of the nation does not depend on the political ups and downs. State and political power were never the pivot of our national edifice. As Swami Vivekanand had aptly said, "*Dharma* is the very life-breath of *Bharat*". And Yogi Aurobindo's thought that *Sanatana Dharma* and *Hindu Rashtra* are identical is perfectly in keeping with reality.

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Disastrous Self-Oblivion

Politicians generally think of politics as politics of power, and completely lose themselves in it. This did not happen in the case of Deendayalji, because it was against his grain to think or act on the basis of short-sighted analysis and immediate gains. His immense abilities were channelised in a definite, well-thought-out direction by pure nationalistic thought, an idealistic planning for national reconstruction of India suited to its glorious traditional goals and world mission and a clear concept of the role of political power in the building-up of a nation. The conclusion which his historical analysis had led him to was that the concept of political power as the pivotal force in national life is not conducive to national stability and development. The one reason why the *Hindu* nation withstood firmly rooted and thrived for thousands of years in the face of all storms is that it was never, by nature, power-centered. Empires in India rose and fell; wars brought successes and defeats. Slavery was sometimes forced on some parts; foreign rulers came to power and made their exit. India suffered slavery under foreign rulers for a thousand years. But no political power ever succeeded completely in exterminating the *Hindu* society, *Hindu* culture or the *Hindu* nation. Even today the *Hindu* society, taking greets pride in its ancient traditions, stands firm here as a majority, retaining all its characteristic features. If we cast a glance at the history of the World, we see that a number of nations and cultures flourished for some time, but were later pushed into complete oblivion. Take the example of the Persian and Roman empires. Both these flourished with the support of royal power. It was the kings and emperors who controlled and dominated all fields of life. For some time the people of Iran appeared to be happy and secure, but the primitive uncultured Arab tribes fell on them like waves of locusts and the huge edifice of the Persian Empire was destroyed in no time. The Greek and Roman empires excelled in resources, efficient governmental machinery and a disciplined army; yet, when the government became weak, the empires collapsed.

The story of the Babylonian and Khaldian cultures is no different. A number of cultures and the nations influenced by them simply could not revive because their foundations were weak and unstable. Today, the land-mass is very much there; it is inhabited by the same people; but they have lost all connection with their past.

This is true also of Egypt. *Hindu* thinkers and philosophers kept off this danger by keeping the life of their people largely free from State control and from making itself dependent. As a result, the autonomous social life of the people continued unhampered on various planes and the role of the government was thus limited.

The Source Strength of *Hindu Rashtra*

There is a growing apprehension that the tendency of aping foreigners may lead to the loss of this fountain-head of our long and unbroken socio-cultural tradition during the post-independence period. If we look around us now, it appears that political power has become the pivotal point in our social conduct. People seem to have lost all their initiative. Government interference has extended its field in all directions without any limit. We have developed the tendency to look upto the government for everything. Now-a-days, even the Government administration seems to be run with an eye on popular vote rather than on real public welfare. Various agitations are organised only with a view to making demands from the government in the interest of this or that social group. The practice of bringing pressure on the government with the use of particular vote-banks as a lever by some vested interests has now become an everyday affair. The opposition parties are no less after political power than the ruling party. This exaggerated importance given to political power is not at all in keeping with the *Hindu* idea of socio-political structure. We have already stated above the fact that not even the king could escape the sovereign control of *dharma*. Social status, wealth, power and sensual pleasures are all concentrated today in the 'Chair' and their attraction has become irresistible due to the predominance of materialistic ideas. Our *Hindu* concept is that the king must function according to his *Raja-dharma* which is not defined by him, but which is laid down for him by the unattached, selfless and far-sighted *Rishis*. The king's power was not all-pervasive; he had no right to interfere with or stand in the way of the *Kula-dharma*, *Jati-dharma* or *Shreni-dharma*. The legend of King Vena, who was convicted and put to death for his anti-*dharma* and anti-people actions, is well-known. The conditions laid down by the subjects on Prithu, the son of King Vena, show that it was the people who were supreme, and that the king was not the real wielder of power. It was only after taking the vow 'तदहं वः करिष्यामि नात्र कार्यविचारणा' (I will obey only the dictates of the people; there can be no other consideration) that Prithu was crowned king. The ritual and the mantras to be gone through during the coronation ceremony also show that the king's powers were not unlimited, and that he was bound firmly by the dictates of *dharma*. At the crowning ceremony, the king had to take a pledge about *Raja-dharma* which was briefly as follows: 'I will protect my country as a divine trust; I shall obey the dictates of *dharma* and the moral law, in keeping with justice; and I shall never follow my own sweet will.' The significance of this entire ritual is that the king and his government also had their own *dharma* to follow and that they were duty-bound to abide by it.

If we use modern administrative jargon, we may say that the king was the Chief Executive Officer, receiving his authority from the people; he had no special powers of his own. So it is altogether wrong to evaluate the *Hindu* ideas of *Dharma Rajya* by European or

Islamic standards. If the Executive Officer is not efficient or the administrator is not ever alert in fulfilling his obligations, the undesirable tendencies set in and the society loses all sense of direction. As a result, society becomes rudderless and tends to disintegrate. On the other hand, if the king is firm about his *dharma*, the nation remains united, and progresses in a purposeful direction. This is what is meant by राजा कालस्य कारणम् (The king determines the times), not that the king is an all powerful dictator. The king is looked upon as a symbol of Vishnu because people entrust to him the responsibility of looking after his subjects in fulfilment of his own *dharma*. Vishnu is a divine power that protects and sustains the creation. The king is only a part of this power; he is important because of this divine role. If he fails to rise up to it, he would go the way of Prajapati and Vena. While comparing the ancient and well-developed systems of *Bharat* with those of Western nations, even learned scholars have succumbed to fallacious logic and we have allowed ourselves to be thus way-laid.

One of the claims made is that our present Constitution prepared by the people's representatives in the then Constituent Assembly should be looked upon as the document formulating the *dharma* of the present rulers. Any person holding a position of power has to take a pledge of loyalty to that Constitution; so in a sense, today's administration also is bound to follow the dictates of *raja-dharma*. Our Constitution is today's *Smriti* and it should govern the present *raja-dharma*. Perhaps there could be no objection to this at least in principle, but two or three important questions arise which we shall just mention here. The first: Who were they that framed the Constitution? Were they endowed with the qualities of selflessness, an intense desire for public welfare and a deep knowledge of the rules of *dharma* as the *rishis* were? Or did they formulate this *Smriti* of a free India under the influence of the unsteady circumstances prevailing at that time? Another question: Did these Constitution-makers possess originality of thought or did they have a tendency primarily to imitate others? And a third important question : To what extent were the dictates and the directive principles of the Constitution put into practice by those who, after taking the pledge of loyalty, ascended to positions of power ? Did they waste time in mere wordy hair-splitting? How far did they keep to the motivation and the spirit behind the preparation of the rules of the Constitution? It is not necessary here to answer all these questions with actual examples; the answers will automatically strike to any one. The long and short of it is that we did not adopt, after independence, the traditions of formulating the *raja-dharma;* nor did we honestly practice it in the form in which it was formulated. The people's power which compels rulers to observe the *raja-dharma* has, in the present times, been deplorably lacking.

Set Formula Unacceptable

In accordance with the rules of *raja-dharma*, the king was expected to live in a detached manner in personal life in order to achieve public welfare and the strict observance of his duties. It was in order to observe *raja-dharma* that Rama abandoned Seeta and said, 'मुञ्चतो नास्ति मे व्यथा' (I have no anguish in leaving her'). Chhatrapati Shivaji declared, "Ours is the rule of *dharma*, not of Shivba. Our kingdom is a gift from Shambhu (God Shiva)." Even the great wars like the Mahabharat War were fought for the protection and re-establishment of *dharma* and the eradication of *adharma.* A war in defence of *dharma* is a matter of duty. Even the purpose of various incarnations of God was the establishment of *dharma.* This idea has permeated the very life-blood of the Indians. We are moulded that way by history and tradition. That is why the present day politics appears to be devoid of values. There is no essential difference in principle between Gandhiji's *Rama-rajya* and Deendayalji's *Dharma*-based rajya. *Dharma* is eternal and man must adjust his social and economic practices to his *dharma.* In one of his speeches, Shri Dattopant Thengadi has given a lucid explanation of this point. He says: "Heat and light are the *dharma* of fire. This *dharma* does not depend on the minority or majority view of any Parliament or Legislative Assembly. No Parliament, howsoever supreme, can, by passing a legislation, change the *dharma* of fire. You may accept it or not, these properties do exist. If we desire to benefit from this *dharma* of fire, we must try to study its properties and then use our findings for our progress. We must know the *dharma* of fire and use it for cooking our food. This is a positive use. If our tendencies are otherwise, we can also use it for reducing our own house to ashes. So it is in our own hands as to how we use our knowledge after we have studied the properties of a thing. When we say, 'धर्मो रक्षति रक्षित:' (*Dharma*, properly obeyed, protects us), the meaning is that if we act according to our *dharma,* life can be made happy ; if we neglect it, we harm ourselves."

Once the key-theme of *dharma*-oriented State, *dharma*-oriented social structure, *dharma*-oriented economic planning in the re-building of the *Hindu* nation is properly understood, the baselessness of the charges of revivalism, obscurantism, blind faith, turning our back towards modernism, etc. labeled against the advocates of the *Hindu Rashtra* ideology will be obvious. Our national spirit is totally opposed to the imposition of any 'ism' based on a set formula. Pandit Deendayalji's thinking and this issue is very clear and logical. Any 'ism' is like a closed book. Once you accept any dogmatic 'ism', all doors and windows are closed to any new or different thought. The desire and capacity needed to accept any change in keeping with new times, situations and challenges disappear. Dogmatism and intolerance raise their heads. Our *Hindu* Society has survived all storms and calamities because of the willingness of the *Hindu* Seers to accept changes consistent with *dharma* and the inherent capacity of our *Hindu* society to adjust with new situations with suitable new forms. Students of history have noted this unique feature of our society. Being bogged down by the boundaries of a particular land or the teachings of a particular prophet or his scriptures in matter of life-thought and science is to deny all progress and change suited to the demand of the times. Is it not absurd to think that the laws of science which were discovered in Europe do not apply in *Bharat*? Agreed that the West has pondered deeply about social problems, their research and conclusions deserve careful and deep study here as well. The World has become smaller now and means of communication have increased considerably, so that nations have come closer. Enormous growth of printed books has facilitated mutual exchange of views. No country can remain aloof from the thought-currents in the World and stay isolated. When Deendayalji and other thinkers of his school level severe criticism against the tendency towards the blind acceptance of foreign thoughts and the systems that they have propagated, all that they mean is that we should not blindly accept what is alien to our national good and also to the good of humanity at large. They simply insist that we should also make a comparative study of our indigenous thinking, the systems our ancients have suggested, the philosophical base of those systems, and of whatever part of it is worth being retained in modern times.

There is no need for us to suffer from any inferiority complex. We should not fall prey to the baseless theory that our forefathers never gave due thought to the political, sociological or economic systems. We should not neglect our national ethos (reflected in our history) in our effort for national reconstruction. And above all, our national criteria of acceptability or otherwise thoughts and actions which will suit our country, should never be lost sight of.

Once this approach is clear, there is nothing against taking from others whatever is beneficial to our progress and also against abandoning whatever proves to be unacceptable in the modern context.

Test of Acceptability

One of the maxims stated by Swami Vivekanand is, "The old Hinduism can only be reformed through Hinduism and not through the new-fangled reform movement." In keeping with this tenet, the *Hindu* Society has, through the centuries, adapted itself to the changing times. We have heard of *Manu Smriti.* Quite a few people detest it. But we don't realise that after Manu's codification of the *achar dharma*, many Smritis and law codes were written. They have modified social customs and rules from time to time. Scholars of

Dharma-Shastra tell us that about fifty seven *Smriti*-makers followed Manu, and the books written on *Dharma-Shastra* number about six thousand. It has in fact been our method of reform that learned religious scholars should, after careful deliberation, accept changes in social customs and save the society from stagnancy. In this, as Swami Vivekanaad has said, the *Hindu* Society has repeatedly been reformed by Hindus themselves. There is no scope in it for dependence on others, or for inferiority complex, or for destructive tendencies.

The breakdown of this process of reform during more than a thousand years of demoniac foreign aggression led to many perversions in our society. Our natural process of writing new Smritis without affecting our eternal *dharma* and giving them social sanction and status ceased altogether. This impeded the progressive flow of society and status-quoism came to prevail. In the bitter struggle for existence, the natural flow of social life and culture was halted and it was like stagnant water becoming more and more polluted. A. nation's thought-leaders have to pay simultaneous attention both to continuity and change in national life. They have to make adaptations to changing times, while at the same time preserving the self-respect and special character of the nation. Pandit Deendayalji has nicely explained this phenomenon of the assimilation of new thoughts or customs with the apt example of the human body.

He says, "In the course of global events, many nations come into contact with one another and there is an exchange of views among them. This process of give and take is only natural. This exchange in keeping with the requirements of changing circumstances is not only necessary, but can also prove to be strength-giving. But a little deeper thought will, make it clear that the healthy and self-respecting nations adopt new changes in such a way as to prove complementary to their national aspirations and ideals. This can best be explained with the example of the human body. Everyone knows nature's rule that foreign elements entering into the human body create disease and harm. It is therefore an indication of the health of a body that it admits only such foreign elements and those only in such proportions as will be easily digestible. Even such simple food grains like wheat and rice are not rushed into the mouth in the form in which they are naturally available. Their form is so modified as will help increase the formation of blood in the body. We see the same thing in the behaviour pattern of different families. Every family has to enter into some kind of exchange with other families; they cannot do without it. Marriages, in particular, have to be arranged only between different families. But the acceptance of a daughter from another family involves an entire assimilative process. The same care has to be taken in mutual give and take between nations. The acceptance of new things can be invigorating and conducive to the growth of a nation only if it is in keeping with its values, modes of life, ideals and age-long traditions. If, on the other hand, new things are entirely foreign or indeed contrary to our tradition, their acceptance leads to unrest, harm and disease and sometimes even to the destruction of the nation."

The Impact of Imitation

The real complaint is that our leaders did not keep this sense of proportion. If a nation does not have a solid backbone of self-respect and national pride, the tendency to ape those nations which are materialistically strong, influential, triumphant and prosperous becomes predominant. Its people are ashamed of their poverty and backwardness in their midst. Their imitation of the foreigners permeates from the most vital things in life to even its most trivial aspects. So many things like food, dress, customs pertaining to family life, language, ideas about progress and backwardness, social festivities and marriage ceremonies take up foreign patterns. Insistence on *Swadeshi* is looked upon as vulgar. The British defeated us and foreign missionaries and astute British rulers used the educational system initiated by Lord Macaulay to create various fallacies and illusions among our people, Right from those days, the tendency to imitate Westerners has constantly spread, first amongst the educated and following their lead, among the rest of the Indian society. In the post-independence period, it has increased to indefinable limits. There had been an attempt to rouse the love for *Swadeshi* in the pre-independence period. It has now completely ceased. Indeed the wild craze for everything 'imported' has caught hold of us. Panditji used to say: "The pride and love we had for our ideals, our culture, our language, indigenous products and above all, our soil which gave birth to all these were always apparent in the old days. After freedom was attained, the motivation for all that was lost and the fashion of alienating ourselves from the *Hindu* way of life has gathered momentum.This feeling was carefully nourished in the thousands of Christian mission schools in the country. The directive principle concerning our national language, included in our Constitution, has not been realised even after 63 years of independence. The prestigious position of English as a link language has not only been maintained, it is also on the increase. The government is not even now ready to prohibit cow-slaughter. Have we ever given judicious thought to what we are to borrow from others, how and why it is to be borrowed, or explored our ability to adapt it to the needs of our nation and utilise it for our further progress? Has our ethos been reflected even in our Constitution? Right from Constitution making, all our activities manifest an utter lack of self-recognition and the presence of a tendency to imitate others. In any country whose life shows lack of pride for its ethos and which does not manifest the 'We-feeling,' degeneration sets in and selfishness and self-indulgence run riot in all fields. This is bound to happen in any country which has lost its sense of identity. There was really no reason why this confusion should have prevailed here. For, so strong is our tradition that there should be no difficulty in welcoming new things in a suitable manner, while keeping our national culture and values undisturbed. No one is against doing away with old ineffective and out-dated traditions.The only consideration is that this should be done without causing harm to the supremacy of *dharma*. Our *dharma* has always maintained a nice balance between spiritual and material aspects and it is only to make human life happier and worthwhile that its supremacy has to be maintained.

Socialism

In this context, Pandit Deendayalji gives a very vivid and convincing example which deserves our careful attention. In what way did our leaders plan for our all-sided development our country's prosperity, the abolition of its poverty, progress in science and technology - after the exit of the British? These plans were never based on the identity between the *Hindu* Society and the nation. Our leaders never tried to grasp the secret of the continuity of its way of life. Nor were the plans formulated with the proper appreciation of the basic difference between a *dharma*-dominated society and a government-oriented society, concentrating its attention merely on material wealth and desires. In short, it was not realised that if we formulate our plans on a *Swadeshi* basis, the nation as a whole would be activised and will be saved from the harm of unnecessary problems. What then was the direction of our thinking? Some alien ideologies had gained currency in our country even before independence and we had been enamoured of them. Many Congress leaders engaged in the freedom struggle were strongly influenced by the communist and socialist ideologies and slogans, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru not excluded. Somehow they were alienated from the *Hindu* way of life and *Hindu* philosophical thought. Many of the leaders belonging to the communist and socialist parties today worked in the Congress fold in those days. Theories of democracy and individual freedom, material progress and pleasure-oriented ways of life popular in America and Europe also dominated their minds.The planning for our national development took shape in the tug-of-war of such heterogeneous ideologies. The Congress first accepted the ideal of the socialistic pattern of society and then of a socialist State. The vogue of calling ourselves 'Leftists' dominated us. The word 'Socialism' was bandied about, regardless of its specific implication, in a loose manner. As a result, the idea of nationalisation became very popular in the economic field, while in actual practice Nationalisation came to mean governmentalisation or bureaucratisation of industry. Proper, careful thought was not given to the problem as to whether, in comparison with Indian philosophical patterns of thought, socialism, communism or materialism would ultimately lead to happier, co-ordinated or better developed human or national life. In his article 'दोउन राह न पाई' (Both the paths did not lead to the goal), included in his collection 'राष्ट्रजीवन की दिशा', Pandit Deendayalji has made a critical analysis of the two systems-socialism and democracy as reflected in the emergence of an anti-development situation created by them in India. For the last fifty years, considerable effort has been made in India to attract the poverty-stricken Indian society towards socialism in the broad sense of a means to reduce the gap of economic inequality, to end the unjust economic exploitation of any section of society, and to preclude the possibility of the stranglehold of a handful of multi-millionaires on the government in the service of their own selfish interests. The communist party made virulent attacks on the natural Indian philosophical thought and the Indian way of life for hypnotising people here with the 'Communist heaven' and advocated the emulation of Russian systems. But these appeals never reached the hearts of people, and no one could give any logically convincing plans that would succeed in making a popular appeal for national reconstruction. A competition ensued-every group claiming that they were the true advocates of socialism. The *Hindu Maha-sabha* invented *Hindu* socialism, while some advanced the theory of *Vedic* socialism, some others of socialism of Saints, etc. It must also be mentioned that in more recent times has been adopted the theory of Gandhian Socialism. That none of these theories held any water is a different matter. In short, the use of the term 'Socialism' came to be extremely loose and confusing and led society to a situation completely devoid of direction. Hypocritical tendencies thereby gained their hold. In fact when we dream of building up a happy, prosperous, well-developed society on the basis of socialism, we must start with a matter-of-fact and rational assessment of Marxian Socialism.

Balance Sheet of the Communist Revolution

In order to keep intact the clarity and purity of *Hindu* Nationalist thought and to maintain a sense of direction Panditji played a vital and active role both on the intellectual and the organisational fronts. His objective assessment of the so-called socialist experiment in Russia and other satellite countries under its influence as also in post-revolution China is very illuminating. This effort is particularly valuable because it is made from the stand point of the essential approach of *Hindu* philosophy and the *Hindu* way of life. In fact, the communist ideology and practice have been severely criticised in America, Europe and India. Even in Russia, many thinkers as a result of their painful disillusionment and frustrating experience have strongly attacked communism; but Deendayalji's thought-provoking analysis shows a proper sense of direction because it has the firm basis of *Hindu* philosophy about a healthy society. It bears a clear stamp of his *Swadeshi Hindu* genius.

Deendayalji, in his assessment of the communist experiment of realising Karl Marx's dream after the October Revolution, says: "It has been proved that the history of Russia from the Bolshevic Revolution onwards is a story of a series of failures. It indicates the drawbacks of the ideology as applied to life. Not only that, it has actually proved to have produced many disastrous results. First of all, socialism gave a rude shock to democracy and people outside Russia, who had a soft corner for socialism; they were genuinely frightened. True, Deendayalji has not made a list of the failures of communism. That can easily be done by any ordinary scholar. Not a single communist country has been able to organise its social life according to the original tenets of communism. All communist countries have given up their commitment to original communism and the original philosophy has been modified to suit the circumstances in the country which has accepted it. The example of China where it has actually executed a somersault has been a subject of universal interest. In India it is clearly seen that the spokesmen of communist parties in their speeches make violent onslaughts on Capitalism, Imperialist nations, etc, but do not speak a word about the major principles of communism and their glaring failure. Communism is now only a label for them. Whatever is behind that label bears no semblance with communist ideology. The communists had indulged in many slogans. The abolition of the institution of marriage, doing away with the family system, complete extermination of private property from social life, expelling God from Russia, 'Workers of the World, Unite', were the slogans in the communist manifesto. They put forth various theories like class war, materialism, dialectical materialism, materialistic interpretation of history etc. But which of these slogans and philosophical principles could be implemented in real life ? Could the world accept any of these for its efficacy ? The Communist dictators in Russia had to shed the blood of millions of people who opposed Communist experiments like collective ownership of farms. It is now obvious that the promised Dictatorship of the Proletariat never came and instead there is clamped an intolerant party dictatorship as the permanent order. The dream of the withering away of the State is nowhere in sight. Not an inch of progress has been made in that direction in the last sixty or sixty-five years. The evaluation of the communist experiment on the criteria of the pronouncements made by the communists themselves reveals nothing but dismal failure. Besides, even if the communists continue to call themselves Marxists, they are fast retreating from their original declarations. They are being forced to give a legal sanction to things that they had pledged themselves to abolish. The communists had determined to abolish religion. In the revised constitution, freedom of religion has been accepted as a fundamental right of every citizen. The communist revolution abolished the old classes in society, but created new ones like the rulers and the ruled. Communist Russia has far from succeeded in eradicating any of the so-called capitalistic evils like economic inequality and corruption. The Marxian prophecy that the communist revolution would first take place in those countries in which industrial workers are in a sizable majority, proved to be wrong; and it was in agriculturist Russia that the first successful communist revolution took place. Highly industrialised societies in countries like Britain and America, where the communists are free to carry on their propaganda are enjoying prosperity, and communism had absolutely no impact there. Not only did all the workers of the world not unite but they even fought in World War II for their respective motherlands. The communist ideology failed completely to develop an international labour movement which would eclipse nationalism. India is a completely poverty-stricken country, and the have-nots are in an overwhelming majority: yet it can in no way be claimed that the communist way of thinking has made any great headway here or that the country is progressing in the direction of the communist revolution. Both the communists and the socialists in their intolerant ways regularly abuse, in their repetitive terminology, people believing in ideologies different from theirs. That is, the whole world has now realised that democracy is the first casualty in any country which goes the communist way. Man under that system no longer remains a human being, but becomes a helpless slave of the cruel and intolerant party government. Democracy and Marxist Socialism can simply never co-exist.

The Plight of the West

Nor has Western democracy succeeded in achieving the ideal of human welfare. Man is not happy there also. Means of enjoyment are readily available; the standard of living has been raised; yet man feels insecure, restless and suffers from a sense of frustration. Even affluence is creating many new and unforeseen problems before him every new day. The ideologies which look upon man as an economic being or seek happiness in the abundance of means of physical pleasures are bound to corner him to confront him with problems he will never be able to resolve.

In stating the conclusion of his analysis, Deendayalji says, "Both Socialism and Democrary concentrated their attention on man's material aspirations and fulfilment of his gross desires. Both have implicit faith in modern science and technological progress and they are crazy about newer and still newer research. As a result, the nature of the means of production has come to be determined not by the needs and welfare of man but by the nature and demands of machines. In a centralised system of production - whether under individual or State control - man's individuality is lost and he becomes a mere cog in the machine. If we want to preserve the human element in man, he must be liberated from the slavery of the machine. Man today is not the master of the machine, but its slave. At the root of this love of the machine is the desire to fulfil more and more the materialistic need of man. But we should not forget that mere material prosperity does not make man happy because we actually witness the problems faced by the countries where material prosperity is dazzling. We will have to think of human life in totality and treat production, distribution and consumption as three mutually connected constituents of the same process. We must establish a system in which man, while he is engaged in production and consumption of goods, would also pay due attention to living a purposeful life. Man is not a bundle of physical needs. He has spiritual needs as well. A way of life which completely ignores spiritual needs can never be perfect. Both socialism and democracy have followed single track paths. Instead of bringing about human development by striking a balance between the material and spiritual needs, they have only led man to a sort of anarchy and created a battle-ground for conflicts among different forces.

Influence of Nationalism

While thinking about our nation, we have to be aware of the so-called modern Western ideologies and understand their good and evil aspects and assess them with reference to our national background. For Marxism, which aspired to wipe out all national boundaries and usher in the global supremacy of the proletariat, has failed to overpower the natural patriotic sentiment in man. China, Yugoslavia, Russia, Poland, Hungary, Vietnam and other communist countries could not forget their separate national identities, their traditions, forefathers, historical heroes and memories of triumphs and failures. No nation can totally forget or disown its history. If we decide to do away with our history and the pride born of it, we also lose the very source of strength and inspiration goading us to face dangers confronting our nation. When Russia was forced to wage a life-and-death struggle against Hitler's brutal aggression, Stalin had ultimately to take recourse to Russian nationalism and tradition. The Red Army could not be inspired by an appeal to fight the enemy to save communism. Stalin had to resort to a fervent appeal in the name of the Fatherland. That alone could rouse people for resistance, sacrifice and the aspiration for Russian victory. He reminded the Russians of the valour of their ancestors and that moved the people.

In pursuance of this policy, the names, portraits and heroic achievements of the very forefathers, who were erstwhile dubbed as enemies of the proletariat by the communist revolutionaries, had to be prominently highlighted. 'Comrade Stalin' quoted the names of kings, emperors, feudal lords and dignitaries with great pride and reverence. In his speech on 7 November 1941, Stalin said, "May the inspiring memory of our great forefathers become a perennial source of inspiration to you all in the present war." Most of these predecessors whom he referred to with veneration, were royal personages. There were no peasants or workers among them. But the common point among them all was that they had led Russia to great victories against foreign aggressors. In the 1802 war, the Russians routed Napoleon. The Generals who were the architects of Russian victory during that war were all lauded as heroes by the communist Russia. One relevant example is worth quoting to illustrate the kind of writing which inspired the Russians in those days. There is a letter written by Irlima Irenberg, a Russian author, to the Russian army fighting against Hitler in which he says, "Tender Tania and the tough sailors of Sebastopol are marching along with you. Your forefathers who gave Russian land its nationhood, among whom you see Prince Igor's noblemen and Dimitry's army, are marching along with you. Also marching with you are the soldiers of Bundeji and the bare-footed, hungry, yet world conquering volunteers of Homayev, your mother, your wife, your children are all marching with you and blessing you. You will have the good fortune of earning a peaceful future for your mother. You will give the joy of reunion to your wife and you will shower joy on your children. O Soldiers! Russia himself is marching with you. He is by your side. Listen to his footsteps. In the din of battle, he will encourage you with his pleasant words. He will give you courage in your uneasy moments. When you win victories, you will earn the good fortune of his embrace."

Destiny

A detailed reference has intentionally been made to the irresistible nationalistic urge in Russia because whenever the words *Hindu Rashtra* and *Hindu* tradition are uttered, the communist speakers and media come out showering words of abuse like 'chauvinistic,' 'advocates of class interests', 'obscurantist,' 'outdated,' 'narrow,' 'communal' etc. It is those who claim to be the advocates of Marxism who have made spiteful and poisonous attacks on Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, the cultural organisation which has dedicated itself to the cause of uniting the entire society on the basis of the *Hindu Rashtra* ideology. While doing so, the communists have never bothered to discriminate between truth and falsehood. They know that if the *Hindu* society becomes conscious of its real nationhood, communist rule can never emerge here in the foreseeable future. The ideals in the Indian way of life are not limited to economic or materialistic considerations. The Russian experience has convincingly proved the futility of trying to interpret history in economic materialistic terminology on the basis of materialistic ideology of communism. The narrow and limited Marxist thought based on hatred, class struggle and lack of comprehensive understanding of the total man appears to be very feeble in comparison with the encompassing philosophy of *Hindu Rashtra*. Shri Guruji very confidently asserted that it seems to be the will of destiny to bury in the Indian soil all the existing aggressive forces which are materialistic, anti-God and extremely intolerant about other modes of life.

It was in India that the Islamic tide of conquest was halted. The Christians, in spite of their all out effort, succeeded but little in converting *Bharat* to Christianity. These two, inspite of the prolonged absolute political power they enjoyed, failed to convert the Hindus-disintegrated and weakened as they were to their faith. If the *Hindu* society becomes united and integrated, India will have no difficulty in assimilating Christians and Muslims. Just as India did not yield to Islam or Christianity, it can never succumb to communism. That hope even the communists themselves appear to have abandoned, even though they have not admitted their complete defeat yet. They are now trying a change of tactics and strategies. Their propaganda is directed towards one purpose at present: people should have no affinity for the sublimating and invigorating thoughts which the very word '*Hindu*' implies, and that they should never wake to their inherent strength. Thinkers like Pandit Deendayalji are not pathologically allergic to new economic theories or new experiments in the field of social reconstruction. They admit that economic or social inequalities and unfair exploitation of any kind should have no place in social life. But they are logical and firm in their view that this cannot be achieved with the help of a punishing rod, concentrating all means of production in the hands of the State, snatching away all individual freedom and denying the spiritual facet of human life altogether. Through their study they have reached the firm conviction that the feeling of nationalism is beneficial and not harmful for the happy development of mankind and that the *Hindu* philosophers also had taken a big step ahead in the progress of human society from this stage of nationalism. Once we accept the principle that a nation is not a mere geographical unit nor a mere set of people inhabiting it but that its culture is a very vital factor providing the nation with its ethos and its distinctive identity, it is impossible to think of India apart from *Hindu* culture.

Shri Dattopant Thengadi, a thinker who belongs to the same school of thought as Deendayalji and who also has the background of the *Sanskaras* in the RSS, has stated a thought-provoking truth while making a comparative assessment of communistic and *Hindu* thought. According to communism man is a product of external environment, particularly influenced by means of production. This suggests that non-material things like the human consciousness, desires, aspirations and the various influences on him are merely secondary. Everything is rooted in the material world; even the human mind is automatically moulded under the influence of external circumstances. This is the basic premise in socialistic and most other Western socio-economic ways of thinking. They do not give any special importance to human mind and its cultivation. They believe that a certain socio-economic environment would automatically produce a certain type of mind. We in India do not accept this view. We do not deny the importance of external environment, but the idea of man as the product of mere external circumstances is altogether unacceptable to us. Our national culture lays great store by *sanskaras*: minds which have had the proper imbibing of *sanskaras* on them can, we are certain, successfully battle with the environment. The Westerners lay great stress on changing external circumstances through socio-economic changes effected by revolution or change in government, because they believe that the human mind is dominated and controlled by environment. We look upon a mind influenced by proper *sanskaras* as the decisive factor. We believe that if Man is not good, or has not imbibed proper *sanskaras*, even good designs and plans fail. That explains our insistence on giving a child proper *sanskaras* from its infancy. Man and society naturally have a part-and-whole relationship, and no human system can be stable and beneficial unless it is made up of men and women who play their role in life keeping in mind the integral relationship between man and society.

The socialist scheme envisages the dictatorship of the proletariat and State ownership of all means of production: Marx had visualised that eventually, when exploitation is no longer possible, the State would wither away. But Marx does not answer the question as to what would preserve the mutual relationship between man and man in the absence of State-power. The possibility of the emergence of the withering of the State or the stabilization of such a state through socialist processes cannot be visualised. For, Marxism itself is basically reactionary in nature. It does not have the support of any sublime spiritual thought. What guarantee can we ever have that in the absence of any government man will not devour man? Dictatorial rule exists in Russia, but it has not ended exploitation and class-conflict. There is an artificial semblance of equality. Rivals to those in power emerge and attempts are made to ruthlessly crush them by any conceivable methods. Experience shows that in the nationalised industry, workers suffer from a complete lack of incentive. There is no influence which will broaden and elevate the human mind. The beast in man can be roused at any time. In communist countries, the dictatorial, government attempts to keep its tight grip on people, while people are hungry for individual freedom. What chance can we ever see that the classless and Stateless condition will ever emerge? Solzhenitsyn, the famous Russian thinker completely disillusioned about communism, has said in a press interview that the Russian communist party cannot survive without violence and bloodshed even for a day. Marxism could not develop the strength, which Marx had at first visualised to take society beyond the temporary stages of complete economic control and dictatorship: for the primary urge in Marx's thoughts seems to be, not economic and materialistic, but moral. There is a moral principle beyond its economic aspect involved in the tenet 'from each according to his ability and to each according to his needs'. Marx's real failure consists in his inability to comprehend the existence of the force called *Dharma*, the power that holds society firmly together. The *Karma Yoga* theory in the *Bhagavat-Geeta* really encompasses Marx's ideas and takes man further up to a far higher level of progress. An effort needs to be properly made to explain our *Bharatiya* values of life in the social context, so that a rational comparison can be made between the *Bharatiya* way of life and the communist way of life and we remove all inferiority complexes in the ideological sphere from the *Hindu* mind. No external effort will be needed to end communism, because the communist ideology wili simply disintegrate in the light of the widening horizons of knowledge, its practical failure so far, and the increasing study of the *Hindu* thought in the modern world.

The *Hindu* philosophers have also conceived the theory of the

Stateless society. Perhaps it was at some time a practical reality here. The Rishis have said.

न राज्यं न राजाऽऽसीत् न दण्ड्यो न च दाण्डिकः।
धर्मेणैव प्रजाः सर्वा रक्षन्ति स्म परस्परम्।।

(There was no State and no king, no subjects and no ruler. People protected one another with the help of *Dharma*.) In this system the entire populace knows the full significance of *dharma* and abides by *dharma*. People will live together in a friendly and co-operative spirit as stipulated by *dharma*. There will be no rulers and no ruled; everyone will live happily. The same idea is inherent in the famous quotation: धर्मो रक्षति रक्षितः (*Dharma* obeyed protects all). It has to be accepted that the essence of *Hindu* philosophy stands behind this system. This philosophy has taken as its basis in human relationships, the truth that there is a spiritual element pervading us all and its influence on the society has been passed on from generation to generation in spite of political powers that may be. In all trying situations *Bharat* has taken recourse to *dharma* for its protection. In times of triumph also, it is *dharma* that has nourished deep human fellow-feeling. In the last one thousand and odd years of defeats and decadence, too, it is this *sanskara*-system that led to the emergence of great saints and visionaries who triumphed against heavy odds. They explained *dharma* to the people; they pledged themselves to the cause of *swa-dharma* and *swa-raj*. They successfully maintained the continuity of the *Hindu* life-stream here.

The Outcome of Revolutions

This is an extremely important aspect of our national sentiment and our existence as a nation. How can a person who does not have this deep devotion for this glorious tradition and who looks towards Moscow, Beijing, the Arab countries or some such other centre as his source of inspiration identify himself with the way of life here ? This in fact is the vital content of our life-philosophy, our purpose of life and way of life. If India is to become a strong, healthy and prosperous country, we will have to take recourse to these eternal truths and the country's ethos as crystallised by thousands of years of history and *sanskaras* which even today stand the test of rationalism and experience. Old and new social orders have to be assessed on the basis of the proper appreciation of the secret of the age-old existence of the *Hindu* society through thick and thin. The reason why we discuss this in detail here is the fact that the tendency of all people committed to one or other of these 'isms' is to indulge in a propaganda that a crude, instant change in the external system will make people happy, eradicate injustice and inequality, and stop all exploitation. Fresh laws are being minted every day. In the name of socialism, the experiment of nationalisation of industry has been undertaken in many fields. Even education is more or less governmentalised. Faltering attempts are being made to bring about revolutionary changes in the system of the ownership rights of land. In all this effort and experiment, however, the total *Hindu* view of life and effective system of *sanskaras* appears to be conspicuous by its absence. It is our good fortunes that we have available with us for study the experiences of all modern nations, their varied experiments and their outcome. The so-called revolution i.e. the declaration of the sudden emergence of a new order, has not solved any problems. On the contrary, it has only created many new problems in the absence of mature and balanced aspirations for human welfare.

There have been many revolutions - the French Revolution, the Communist Revolution in various countries and the Industrial Revolution in Europe. The speed at which the human race is proceeding in the scientific and technological field is indeed revolutionary. Yet the systems created by all these revolutions are based on the materialistic and pleasure-seeking ways of thinking which are themselves inadequate and anti-*dharma*, and so the welcome emergence of a happy and peaceful life for man is nowhere to be seen. In fact, man is becoming more and more insecure and gripped by fear - fear of pollution in the environment, fear of the huge stock of nuclear weapons, fear of aggression, fear of the vast gap between dire poverty and affluence, fear of theft, fear of economic competition, fear of the collapse of the family system, fear of the loss of personal freedom, fear of international gangs of criminals, and innumerable other kinds of fear of the modern man. No government can eradicate these fears, or create the feeling of सर्वे भवन्तु सुखिन: (Everyone should be blessed) in the relationships between man and man because it is sanskaras made in the light of a definite philosophy of life-alone that helps the realisation of the secret of affinity amongst human beings and enables us to experience it in real life. If the system evolved in India for the constant imbibing of these sanskaras has become rather loose in recent times it can be set right again. But if political power and material achievements are made the centre of all our activities in imitation of the alien ways of thought, the very sap of our life will be dried up. We will have to avoid this danger and decide what to accept and what to reject. Since a strong and well-integrated man is the basis for the success of any system, we cannot afford to allow this foundation to weaken.

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State and Nation

Another important question emerging from Deendayalji's analysis of our nationhood deserves closer scrutiny, because a lot of confusion appears to persist about this. The two terms 'Nation' and 'State' which really represent different concepts are often used today as if they were synonyms. Pandit Deendayalji has clearly stated that these two words have different connotations and has discussed what their mutual relationship is and ought to be. The difference is not difficult to understand. In the history of our own country, we find that at different times, we had a varying number of States, but all of them were parts of *Bharat*. The existence of different States did not affect the nationhood of *Bharat*. 'Though different dynasties ruled over different autonomous kingdoms in the southern, western, eastern and northern parts of India, their existence did not come in the way of the one-nation concept, described in the lines:

उत्तरं यत् समुद्रस्य हिमाद्रेश्चैव दक्षिणम्।
वर्षं तद् भारतं नाम भारती यत्र सन्ततिः।।

(*Bharat* is the land spread across the north of the sea and to the south of the Himalayas and the people residing there are descendents of *Bharata-Bharatiyas*).

Thus our nation stood- one Motherland, with her children sharing the same cultural stream. It was a collection of many States respecting the same epics like the Ramayana and the Mahabharat, having deep respect for and faith in their sacred places of spiritual importance, their rivers and mountains, their gods and goddesses, their sages, saints and seers living in complete integration as a group of different States. Later, though it came to be ruled by foreigners, the idea of one nation was thoroughly alive. The very way of life was such that it reminded the people here at all times of one whole *Bharatvarsha*. Even in their everyday act of ablution, the invocation to all the rivers came naturally:

गंगे च यमुने चैव गोदावरि सरस्वती।
नर्मदे सिन्धु कावेरी जलेऽस्मिन् सन्निधिं कुरु।।

(O rivers Ganga, Yamuna, Godavari, Saraswati, Narmada, Sindhu, Kaveri, join in this water). The fact that these rivers happen to flow in different States did not matter. In the light of this every-day sentiment, one fails to understand why there should be any confusion between the two different concepts - State and Nation. One possible reason is: In all so-called International forums, conferences, tribunals, conflicts and negotiations, it is the States that are given representation. The United Nations Organisation was formed after World War- II. Whom does it give representation? To States, of course, not to Nations, though it is called United Nations' Organisation. The moment a country attains political independence, the government of that country becomes eligible to be a member of the UNO. Neither are the representatives selected on the criterion of nationhood, nor is membership dependent upon it. Whether it is the Commonwealth Conference or the Non-Aligned Nations' Meet, the individual Government is considered to be the unit. That is why perhaps there is a sub-conscious feeling that the two concepts are identical. In the Commonwealth Conference, *Bharat*, Pakistan, Bangladesh Burma and Sri Lanka are considered to be five independent nations. It is presupposed that the boundaries of a Nation and those of a State are identical. Every State is a Nation State-this is so considered and treated for the convenience of International business dealings. But if the deeper meaning of the term 'Nation' is kept in view, every government need not simultaneously stand for one State and one Nation. After World War II, Germany which was a single entity came to be divided into iwo Germanies; Korea was split into North and

South Koreas. Vietnam was partitioned too. In 1947 *Bharat* was first divided into two parts and later a third State emerged. It does not stand to reason to believe that each one of these States is a separate nation.

Nation - A living Organism

For while the nature and boundaries of a State can change, this is not true of a Nation. We see that a State's boundaries may change; the rulers may change; a State can be partitioned, and two or more States can be united into one. Today, North Vietnam and South Vietnam do not exist as two separate States. Can we say that two Nations have united into one Nation? It would be ridiculous to say so. China has captured Tibet. This cannot be construed to mean that Tibet has become part of the Chinese Nation. India was ruled over by the British for a hundred and fifty years; but it was still one *Hindu* Nation. Nation is a stable, permanent concept-a people who share a common character and a particular territory attain nationhood through a long historical process. While a Nation is a living organism, State is machinery created for the convenience of administration. It is just as we wear clothes. The size, shape and skin of the body, the season, the nature of work it is supposed to do are things that decide what clothes the body should wear, but obviously the clothes are for the body and not the body for the clothes. The clothes of a child do not cease to suit him in adulthood, nor do we wear the same kind of clothes in summer and winter. The relations between State and Nation are somewhat of the same nature. Clothes are worn in order to protect the body, add to its grace and to facilitate social functions, but the body can exist without clothes. The State serves the Nation; if it does not, it can be changed. This is all that an internal change of government means. We cannot suffer a foreign power ruling over us because it obstructs the development of our individuality. A foreign rule may be benevolent, but it does not satisfy our craving for self-rule. Nor does mere self-rule necessarily give satisfaction.

A Nation expects certain things from *Swaraj*, that is, from the government which is its integral part. The main thing is, the government's rule must lead to the welfare of the nation; it must enhance the prestige and honour of the nation. When instead of working for national self-interest and prestige, the rulers or the government of a State conduct its affairs in such a way as to satisfy narrow selfish interests or decide its policies so as to please some foreign countries, the unmistakable result is widespread dissatisfaction in the nation. Another expectation is that the nation should be self-reliant. The nation feels that it should not be required to dance to the tune of some foreigners. If the government or State fails to make *Swaraj* self-reliant or if the nation's material or spiritual progress is hampered, it is bound to create deep disaffection for the government or rulers. *Swaraj* must be sovereign. Without sovereignty and efficient administrative machinery there can be no *Swaraj*. It is only the sovereign States that can become members of the UNO. No State can maintain peace and stability unless its governance is in tune with its ethos, character, self-respect and national pride. It is only thus that we trace the roots of our present unrest and discontent. It is a logical fallacy to consider or speak of the State as the be-all and end-all of a nation or to say that the two terms 'State' and 'Nation' are synonyms.

Constant and vigilant care has to be taken to see that this kind of misdirected thinking does not develop in the body politic. Otherwise, the danger always persists that the State, whose main role is service to the nation, becomes supreme and falls an easy victim to some dictatorial rule. It is true that a foreign rule should be totally unacceptable; but it is also important that the Nation should feel that *Swaraj* is their own *raj*. In order to avoid disease, the Nation's physique must be strong and healthy. The Nation's power of resistance must be formidable because the main source of the strength of the State lies in the Nation's strength. In our Indian context, one has to say that here the Nation is weak and neglected. *Swaraj* exists, but it does not work with the motto of 'Service to the Nation'. Unfortunately the Nation is not vigilant and ever conscious enough to establish here a governmental system which would fulfil its physical, mental, intellectual and spiritual needs. Unless these qualities are consistently nourished, we will not get the living experience of the real relationship between State and Nation. The State does represent the Nation, but the relations between State and Nation can be properly maintained only if the Nation has the strength to change a government in case it fails to do its duty efficiently and properly.

The Duties of a State

What are the duties of the State as a system or a service-institution? According to the *Hindu* View, these duties are mainly two-fold: Firstly, to create and maintain an atmosphere of peace and order so necessary to make the life of its people secure and growth-oriented; to curb demoniac or anti-social forces busy creating obstacles in their task. Panditji has cited the example of the police administration. We never feel the presence of the police force if a locality is peaceful and free from commotion. But we are immediately reminded of it the moment peace is disturbed, scuffles and fights break out. Policemen are called there, or they themselves appear on the scene. It is considered to be the primary duty of a government to maintain law and order. If a Nation feels that the government which it has elected or created is found incapable of fulfilling even this minimum responsibility; if the anti-social elements are able to disturb peace and order and make life unbearable for common people, the Nation feels the necessity of bringing about a change in government. In such an eventuality, the Nation must have the capacity to effect this change. Then, it is also the duty of a State promptly and effectively to solve the problems in the day-to-day life of the citizens. A State has to ensure that the powerful and affluent class of the society equipped with the wealth and the necessary means is prevented from unjust exploitation of the weak, helpless and backward section of the society. The State has to be ever watchful that the civic life is controlled by the rules of law and justice. It is for this that the Nation creates a special institution called the Government or the State. This institution is not identical with the Nation: the Nation is an independent, stable entity. While the views, conflicts, majority and minority of parties in elections do affect the government, the Nation is a constant entity that remains unchanged even if the government changes.

In addition to the two duties mentioned above, the State has a third duty to perform, and that is to develop, on behalf of the Nation, proper respectable relationship with other nations and to avert the danger of foreign aggression. In the event of an aggression, it is the administration of a State that has to repel the attack with the well-organised strength of the Nation through the machinery created by the State. History is galore with instances where a Nation, in the absence of its own government, has fought against foreign aggressors. When the British ruled over us, we had no State or Government of our own. Who then fought against the British rule? Earlier, the formidable Mughals ruled over India. Who was it that conducted the prolonged struggle against the rule? When we proudly claim that we fought for the freedom of India, 'We' certainly should stand for the Nation. After the death of Sambhaji, the State administration had all but collapsed. Yet, for eighteen long years, it was the valorous strength of the Nation that stood against the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb, who, as a totally-defeated old emperor, had to breathe his last in frustration. In Europe in World War II, it was not the cult of communism but the Russian national spirit that fought and reduced Hitler's aspirations to dust. Marx has even condemned the idea of a Nation as a capitalist concept! But after the 1917 Communist Revolution, Russia as a nation did not cease to exist. There are facts of history. In Communist Russia, the government had to arouse the Russian national spirit to be able to face the enemy. In ancient times, Emperor Chandragupta wiped out the Greek aggression with determination. This is undoubtedly an example of a State ably fulfilling its duty to protect the Nation. This led Pandit Deendayalji to conclude that the State exists for the Nation. The Nation is not born for politics. The political government must do everything to enhance the national spirit. That politics which enfeebles a Nation must be considered despicable. The significance of this view is obvious in the context of our present political scene. The British, while ruling over India, resorted to the policy of 'Divide and Rule' in order to enervate the Indian Nation. They used the Muslims here to checkmate the ancient *Hindu* Nation. They also played the clever game of denationalizing the Indian people through the propagation of Christian thought. They spread erroneous notions about our nationhood. They successfully carried out their evil intentions to create factions in the *Hindu* Society. They took effective steps to create various nationalities instead of one united Indian Nation. This was all a wilful effort to weaken the *Hindu Rashtra.*

Slavery in Freedom

In utter disregard of all these facts, the post-1947 political activity failed to undertake the responsibility of nourishing the nationalistic spirit. Government as an institution forgot its fundamental objective of Service to the Nation. The Nation also, disintegrated and uncertain about its own identity, has failed to assert its existence and manifest the National Strength that keeps the Government in check. When self-rule, instead of strengthening the Nation, thwarts its progress, the Nation is forced to oppose the State. This is what Deendayalji boldly stated in a speech titled 'Swaraj and Freedom' delivered in Pune on 13-5-1965. He said, "Self-rule and independence are considered to be synonyms. A deeper thinking will bring home to us the fact that even in a free country; the Nation can remain in slavery. *Swaraj* is just one constituent of freedom. *Swaraj* literally means rule by our own people. Freedom is not such a narrow term. Freedom is directly related to our traversing the path beneficial to our entire life. Self-rule becomes real freedom only when it is dedicated to the fulfillment of our life-purpose. In the well-known example of Vena, who, when he ascended the throne, indulged in evil and harmful activities, was dethroned and destroyed by the sages. These sages actually stood firmly in opposition to self-rule. When self-rule acts in a manner harmful to the interests of the Nation, people have to rise against it. When Hitler attacked France and Marshal Petain surrendered to him, General de Gaulle fled from France and escaped to London. There he declared that he did not accept France's surrender before Hitler's Germany. He formed a government in exile there and declared that France would continue its struggle against Hitler. This was an expression of the French nationalistic spirit. Later, he actually won freedom for France. What de Gaulle did was certainly patriotic and nationalistic and the world did recognize him as a great patriot. Justifying and defending self-rule when it is conducive to freedom and opposing it when it is detrimental to its interests is the duty of every patriot. Both Prahlad and Vibhishana are credited with inclusion in the list of parama Bhagavatas (God's blessed). As a matter of fact, Prahlad opposed his father, while Vibhishana estranged himself from his brother in order to stand by the side of Rama. It must be accepted that both opposed self-rule for the sake of freedom. Absence of foreign rule may be only the negative aspect of political freedom. But the idea of true freedom is much wider. It includes social, cultural and economic freedom as well. Freedom cannot be considered piecemeal.

This is an excellent example of how particular Deendayalji was in analysing in great detail every aspect of nationalism, how firm and unequivocal in stating his views, and how very careful in defining our duty. Very few political leaders in our country have discussed the content of the two concepts of self-rule and freedom; and examined every idea with the one vital test of national interest. The role of the opposition is not limited to opposition for the sake of opposition, the opposition must insist on the positive aspect of national interest. It is in this sense that we give all credit to Pandit Deendayalji who scrupulously fulfilled his responsibility as the leader of an opposition party.

The Test: National Interest

In all his writings and speeches, Panditji asserted that national interest must be the main criterion of the propriety of all decisions, actions and plans. The sovereign importance of *Dharma*, the inherent, abiding and living force of national consciousness, self-rule, good government and freedom and their definite significance are topics which he has lucidly discussed and explained. He has clearly warned us against the dangerous and destructive effect of the high-handed domination of the government and the weaknesses of a nation. There is no doubt that his original thinking has given a rude shock to many current ideas. Later, Shri Jayaprakash Narayan also admitted that even though *Bharat*, Pakistan and Bangladesh are three separate States, they really constitute one Nation spread over this extensive land. Panditji boldly advocated the theory of *Akhanda Bharat* (Undivided India). It is quite in keeping with the theory that State and Nation do not signify the same thing. Through Panditji's exposition we realise that the revolutions or coups in many tribes and territories in the world have their origins either in the mistake of forcibly including different nationals in one State or artificially dividing one Nation into many States. Countries like Germany, Korea or *Bharat* aspire to do away their partition affected by selfish, conquest-motivated powers in their self-interest; and urge is natural. In other parts of the world, people may or may not have a clear idea about their distinctive national characteristics, ethos and life-mission. Perhaps some extensive period of time must pass for these ideas to mature. For example, Canada, a State formed of many ethnic groups, was created a few centuries ago. It is one State under one administration, but it has not yet developed maturity as an integrated cultural unit. There is a fairly large group having a great affinity to French tradition. The desire to have an independent homeland for the French is still alive in their hearts. Some time back, when General de Gaulle visited Canada, this feeling of separateness found clear expression. General de Gaulle had expressed appreciation of this feeling and the tensions created by this expression had led to an abrupt termination of his visit. It is difficult to say with certainty even now that United Soviet Socialist Republic is an integrated nation. There are at least a hundred nationalities and scholars say that each of these still shelters the aspiration to retain its separate identity. Due to the ancient character and the surprising continuity of the *Hindu Rashtra* life-stream, the cultural nationalism has matured in the course of thousands of years. We cannot think of India's nationhood if we disregard the uniting principle of *Hindutva*. The politics of power here in modern times has devoted itself to the job of breaking these mutual bonds rather than of uniting and strengthening the oneness of the people of *Bharat*. This gives birth to the need of defining and understanding the limitations and duties of politics and government and their proper place in the national context. Unlike the Christian or Muslim religions, Hinduism is not a sect; it is an accommodative way of life with a definite life-purpose and *'Hindu'* is a glorious word signifying that specific way of life. The society denoted by the term *'Hindu'* has brought about the development of an integrated cultural way of life in this land of *Bharat*, and so it is but natural that this nation constitutes what is called *Hindu Rashtra*. This term unites the entire country from Kashmir to Kanyakumari and Bombay to Calcutta. Why does a man in Maharashtra feel worried about the development in Assam ? And why is a Tamil-speaking person upset about events in Kashmir ? The only answer is the binding principle of *Hindutva*. It is the duty of *Swaraj* to nourish and enhance this national pride and national spirit. That can be the only purpose of the institution called State. If anything contrary is happening, it must definitely be considered detrimental to national interest. Pandit Deendayalji's analysis is quite clear and natural, and pins down the root cause of our weakness and our inertia.

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The Cycle of Yajnya (Sacrifice)

Pandit Deendayalji repeatedly asserted that even though the government had an important duty to perform, government is not all-important. It is only one of the factors in a nation's life. Important as it is, it is not conducive to the continuity and vibrant existence of a nation to lay exclusive emphasis on it. For the proper, healthy nourishment of a nation, just as a government as an institution or system guided by *Raja-Dharma* is essential, so also many other institutions or systems must be active in their own field according to their own *dharma*, i.e. observing the proper code for the healthy sustenance of the society as a whole. We must never forget that each of these systems is established for the benefit of the nation, and each has to contribute to the progressive development of the nation. This general precautionary discipline must be adhered to by all.

The family (परिवार), for example, is one of such institutions in social life. In the process of evolution from individual existence to corporate social life, the institution of the family came to stay and was recognised as the smallest unit of community life. What thinkers like Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya insist on is that even this institution must be conducive to the healthy life of the nation. He has clearly explained what the word 'conducive' signifies. It means that the family must nourish national values of life, national objectives of life and the principles governing a life of fulfilment. Its structure and functioning must lead to these. The system of *sanskaras* from this point of view must efficiently and unceasingly operate in the family. Contact with or influence of foreign countries ought not to create confusion in it. A blind imitation of systems which are detrimental to national objectives through temptation or passion must be avoided at any cost. If as a result of the outer material conditions in our own country, a change in the external design of the system is necessitated to a small or large extent, its continuous efficacy must not be hindered. Otherwise, the shock will affect society and it may result in the soul of the nation being suffocated.

A Training School for Corporate Life

To some extent, we as a nation are standing today on the threshold of a state of uncertainty, confusion and lack of direction, and, as a result, our feeling of social commitment and belonging has become weak; psychological obstacles have been created in the path of the observance of our *Rashtra Dharma*. The institution of the family is fast disintegrating. Unless the trend is reversed and made conducive to national good, many problems will remain unsolved and new complications and problems will emerge. We use the word परिवार also to mean the family. The term 'family' is not restricted only to a man, his wife and their children; there are so many other relationships like brothers, sisters, paternal and maternal uncles, grandfather and grandmother, son-in-law and daughter-in-law, father-in-law and mother-in-law, brother-in-law and sister-in-law, etc. The same man or woman has to deal with each one according to his/her relationship. All these relatives have a sense of belonging and a shared life. It is expected that in this collective, shared life, a number of qualities such as affection, co-operation, complementariness, and care for the disabled, sick, poor and weak, preparedness to suffer for others, natural eagerness to share one another's joy and suffering, hospitality, etc. develop. If the members of a family possess these qualities, their behaviour has a favourable impact on the life-pattern of the society outside the family as well. The family is considered as a part of the system of social security in India. If a man becomes invalid, becomes sick, suffers from temporary unemployment or an unexpected disaster, he can rely on help mainly from the family. In old age particularly, men and women have to depend entirely on the younger generation. But this cannot be achieved without necessary *sanskaras* and qualities. In the healthy and integrated life of a society, the family as an institution has an important role to play. If the family system is weak and disintegrated, the shortcoming cannot be made up by extending the duties and powers of the government. Family-life provides the primary support for satisfying the basic physical and emotional human needs like earning money, sex, the inherent hunger for the expression of love, the pleasant feeling of belonging, development of personality etc. No attempt made so far to destroy this basic unit and maintain only the ruler and ruled relationship has ever succeeded. An effort was made in this direction in Russia after the Communist Revolution, but it failed miserably because it was altogether contrary to basic human nature. The most natural structure of the family envisaging the shared life of husband and wife, care of the children, diet according to individual taste and physical needs, prayer and worship according to the inclinations of individual members, a separate residential arrangement for the family - all this had to be reinstated. So it is clear that man is not a mere economic animal and that emotion, intelligence and the needs of the spirit also have an important place in life.

In some Western societies, attempts are being made to move towards another extreme. This tendency amounts to a sanction to the mad craze towards the satisfaction of all bodily pleasures through the extreme, impracticable and unscientific notion of individual freedom. In everyday practice, this means freedom to do whatever gives pleasure at the moment, throwing to the winds the virtues of restraint, forbearance, sacrifice, stability, mutual love and sense of responsibility that sustains the family. It is individual passions that predominate. Everyone behaves on this level for his individual gratification. This has led to a number of social problems: an alarming increase in divorce cases, neglect of affectionate personal child care with proper *sanskaras*, the ailing and the handicapped deprivation of family affection, callousness and indifference in the matter of care for the old. Perhaps individuals indulging in the fulfilment of their passions may succeed in finding the temporary satisfaction of having enjoyed life on the individual plane, but this cannot be looked upon as a culturally elevated or socially stabilising plane of life. The realisation of this has now led the thinkers and leaders in the West to seriously advocate the need of the rehabilitation of the family, as the psychological stresses and strains have started showing their evil effects even on individual life.

Some of the effects of external circumstances on our family system have, of course, to be considered inevitable. For example, the old joint family system is now impracticable. In the old days, the agricultural economy supported the joint family system, and it helped maintain many cultural traditions in every home. In modern times, for many reasons like education, employment, growing urbanisation, paucity of accommodation, inequalities in earnings have made small family units more viable, and this cannot be helped. But if small family units also lead to small and selfish minds and break the continuity of *sanskaras* in family life, it would certainly have a banal effect on the quality of social life. Such effects are already clearly visible now. The feeling of affection has dried up and relations are becoming dry and formal. The more harmful impact of this on society is that today's heads of family, men and women, have their interests limited to money earning and the comforts of their limited families, and they are developing disinclination to devoting their time, money or energy to anybody beyond their small domestic circle. The result is "that many social and community activities experience the dearth of zealous workers and the necessary resources. Even benevolent institutions are monetarily starved, and all noble ideals are disappearing. Those who are affluent are tempted to use their money for ephemeral self-indulgence. The general expectation is that society should provide everything; and that society and government should arrange for all facilities and opportunities of material progress for the small family.

But even the thought of repaying the social debt is totally absent: why, even the simple feeling of gratitude to society is found wanting. 'Pleasure-seeking' has become the watchword. In other words, the feeling of 'myness' for the society is completely lost, and spiritual and moral progress is not even thought of. In a way, this is a travesty of *Grihastha Dharma*. The basic idea and purpose of the family as a social institution is negated, social consciousness is weakened, and a well-organised social life becomes more difficult to attain. If this situation is to be changed, we will have to do everything to arouse the awareness that the nation comes first; its welfare claims the first priority; and everyone in the family must imbibe *Sanskar* conducive to national progress.

Care will have to be taken to see that the family as an institution should do all it can to foster values of the *Hindu Rashtra*, For some time, this task will have to be consciously and vigorously pursued in an organised manner through our families, schools and voluntary organisations, It is not a matter of discovering new values, but of living according to them. This process of reconstructing the *Hindu Rashtra* must be clearly understood.

Many Institutions, One Objective

It is the law of nature that whatever is superfluous is discarded, or is adapted to changing environment. We see this happening about Castes and *Varnas* based on birth. They were described as *Jati Vyavastha* and *Varna Vyavastha* (Castes and *Varna* system). There was originally no idea of any social discrimination or inequality in these systems. Somebody has purposely introduced this poison in our thoughts in self-interest. Trade Unions and Political Parties are new institutions which did not exist in the past. Democracy has developed its institutional machinery. Laws have been passed for establishing Panchayat Raj in rural areas. How are we going to judge the utility or efficacy of these new institutions? The only test that we can think of is that each of these systems must be conducive to the stability and happy and prosperous state of the nation and to a strong and healthy national life. The nation exists by itself; its existence and character do not depend on the majority or minority view. If we apply this test to the system of political parties, we find that these parties have become a new divisive force with elections and the power-game as their be-all and end-all. They do not visualise anything like a pure and unambiguous national concept before them. They behave as if they were pledged to bring about all kinds of disintegration on the basis of individuals, States, languages, castes, sects, etc. Even the panchayat system, caught in the vortex of morbid partisan politics devoid of values, has no more remained an instrument for achieving de-centralisation of power and self-reliance of the people. For centuries together, by tradition, the social system in India has never been mono-centrist or government-controlled. The idea seems to be that society should march towards the same goal through various channels. Pandit Deendayalji often cited the example of the *panchayat* system to bring home this point.

While evaluating this system from the national point of view, he has said, "It is significant that in ancient *Bharat*, the *Panchayat* system did not dance to the tune of the rulers. Today it is the ministers who appoint the *Gram Panchayats*. Members of *Lok Sabha* and Legislative Assemblies decide their rights and duties. They are inspected by Government agencies. Unfair tactics are adopted to remove or appoint the representatives *(panch)*. In the elections their character is considerably mauled. This is not what the *Gram Panchayats* were in ancient times. They had the status of self-made, self-reliant and self-sufficient units. The king could not give them any directives. The king was helped by a committee which included representatives of *Gram Panchayats*. Thus it was the king who had to abide by their advice. This committee was not a legislative council; it was only an executive committee. The village *panchayats* were not dependent on the sweet will of the king. Indeed, it was they who supported the king. The principle was: विशि राजा प्रतिष्ठित: (The king depends upon the people). The king admitted that विशो मे अङ्गानि सर्वत: (The people are like the limbs of my body in all respects)." While discussing 'how the decentralised life conducive to the nation had gained status and expressed itself through the education system, Panditji says: "The *Kulapati* was the head of the educational centre. He used to look after the residence, food and studies of every student. The king had only to render financial assistance to these institutions. The people also contributed money and material. When students went from house to house asking for *Bhiksha* (help in the form of alms), every head of the family contributed. Everyone saw to it that no student ever returned empty-handed. The *Kulapati* conducted his mission of disseminating knowledge with the help of the means thus obtained from both the government and the people. Even if the king himself, as a student, went to the *Kulapati*, there was no discrimination in his favour. Every field of life had its independent suitable arrangements. The king did not interfere with their work. According to *Raja Dharma*, he had no authority to do so." After the Industrial Revolution, the institution of Trade Unions developed all over the world as a need of the times. Our Indian Trade Unions too, instead of thinking of comprehensive national interest, nourish among the workers the one-sided tendency to insist on the interests of a specific class only. Shri Dattopant Thengadi, the founder of the *Bharat*iya Mazdoor Sangh, lucidly described the mutual relationship between the nation and the system in the form of labour organisation, in a speech in Pune, while clarifying his approach to Trade Unionism. He said, "It is not necessary for us to think of political problems from a political point of view; it is neither proper nor convenient. It is not our policy to be partisan in our approach to politics, but at the same time we do not indulge in mere bread and butter unionism. We do not look upon a worker as an economic animal. *Bharatiya* Mazdoor Sangh is not an institution caring only for the daily bread of the worker. We do not consider it as a mere trade union; it is part of a plan for comprehensive national reconstruction: a part of a wider and much more extensive task. So we say that we are not in politics, but we are definitely part of a wider national scheme. Politics by itself and national activity are two different entities. Call it national policy or the people's policy - from ancient times, this has been our accepted view. Brihaspati, who wrote one of the *smritis*, has clearly said that 'Policies of the King or Government and policies having sanction of the people are different from one another.' So are *Rajya Vritta* and *Lok Vritta*. We are part and parcel of the National policy. Our actions even in the Labour field are to be so directed as to promote national welfare. But even when we have to think about political action or policy, it must be done with proper reference to our national policy. At the time of every foreign aggression or in an emergency, it was this approach that we adopted and acted accordingly."

But by and large, the picture we see is that different mass-organisations working in their various fields do not keep in view a comprehensive national scheme and determine their line of action so as to strengthen the nation.

Politics only for the Nation

As a result, while a lot of hectic activity appears to be going on in the country, there is a growing feeling of despair, frustration and degeneration all over the country. No organisation, institution or system which gives priority to the interests of a particular group in preference to wider national interests and stands opposed to some other group, is able to survive. It gradually dies away, or loses all sense of direction and becomes perverted. An exceptional organisation like the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh teaches people to look upon their country as *Mata* (mother) and to worship her as goddess; *Sangh* inspires and educates people to do service to her and do sacrifice in her cause; and so it gets nutritive sap and has a capacity to grow from strength to strength. Sangh was born in response to the nation's need and has grown enormously like a banyan tree, only because it serves the nation. Pandit Deendayalji's argument was that any activity neglecting the context of national interest, discarding the basic responsibility of keeping in tune with the national ideals and throwing to the winds all obligations of strengthening the nation for narrow selfish ends loses its vitality and also the capacity to grow. If the tree has to be nourished, its roots must be carefully and regularly watered and its trunk well cared for, and then there is no reason to worry about the branches, fruits, leaves, flowers etc. A lone branch is not the tree: so in all our plans of reconstruction, the entire nation must be the focal point.

Explaining this point in an article, Deendayalji says, '"Nation-oriented activity is the only way to build up strength. Individualists cannot create organised strength. Our feeling of collectiveness constitutes our nationalism. It is this criterion on which each of our actions and systems will be judged as right or wrong. Let us take the example of the citizens' rights made available to us by democracy. Every citizen has a right to vote.

If a vote is cast with national interest at heart, it would be *dharma;* and if it is given in consideration of individual, selfish gains, it would be *adharma*. If national feeling is absent, it proves the system to be wrong. Those who ridicule nationalism and indulge in other kinds of 'isms' and slogans cannot do any good to the people. Socialism, capitalism or any other 'ism' is only one of the paths to, and not the basis of, progress. Proper progress is impossible if we become slaves of a person, party or 'ism'. Politics is ultimately subservient to the interests of the nation. If we give up all thought of a nation's basic identity, history, culture and traditions, of what use is that politics? If we remember the nation's interests at every step, the value of all these will be enhanced. Without nationalistic thought, they are all reduced to naught. If everyone acts for the nation's glory, one and one will not mean 'two' but eleven. Strength multiplies if we come together on this basis of nationalism. The feeling of nationalism enhances the value of the individual; without it, it is reduced. A man may speak of being ready even to die for his nation, but in actual everyday practice he is goaded entirely by narrow self-interest. Neither individual nor the society gains in the process."

(Rashtra Jeewan Ki Disha)

Balanced *Hindu* Thought

There is no doubt that this point of view very well reveals the nature of *Hindu Rashtra* and yet keeps the door open to welcome any new system or thought in the world without affecting the basic character of *Hindu Rashtra*. If it is adopted, socialism with its claims to modernity will not allure us; for socialism concentrates all rights regarding life and property in the State and makes an individual almost a non-entity. Man is made entirely dependent on the State: the full development of his personalities, his self-pride have no place in this system. All his noble incentives are lost; the realisation that an individual is a helpless tool, a mere pawn, gradually kills his enthusiasm. This is not a very covetable picture of individual life; and a society in which an individual is forced to lead such a life is not conducive to individual development. How can this system which is totally alien to our national way of life and philosophy entice us? Even if a handful of people forcibly impose such a system, it can never lead to the happiness of all. The experience of the socialist regimes has already proved this. Nor can the *Hindu* mind accept a way of life in which extreme individualism is the pattern. An individual lives in society and society is made up of individuals. A society can never remain a society in the real sense if each individual tries to fulfil his own unbridled desires? Some discipline, some rules of sustained social existence, some give and take are necessary in an individual or a section of the society so that it does not become an obstacle in the path of smooth and happy social relationship. Not only that, individual development is very necessary for the prosperity, stability and health of a society. So no system which indulges in one-sided thinking about society and individual or considers inevitable the strains and conflicts among them is suitable to the spirit of *Hindu Rashtra*. Pandit Deendayalji considered neither of these extremes acceptable as the basic system here.

Pandit Deendayalji inferred from all past *Hindu* thought and social thinking that the individual and society should be mutually complementary and conducive to healthy mutual growth. This should also be the directive spirit of the government and the various systems here. When it is stated that individual life should be compatible with society and nation, individual freedom is recognised, the value of individual development is endorsed. At the same time, an efficient, well-organised, progressive life for society is also considered necessary. What is not accepted is the conflict, the opposition between the two. Here the concept is of a balanced society where the individual, while developing himself, fulfils the needs of the society and where the entire society, co-ordinating relations among individuals, itself becomes progressive, strong and elevated. This co-ordinated thought is acclaimed here. *Bharat*iya thinkers have succeeded in creating social systems leading towards this objective. The Indian mind is happy with this theme of individual and the society functioning for mutual good. It is a special feature of the *Bharat*iya way of life. It would be useful to understand this concept of mutual co-operation and co-ordination between these two in the context of a vibrant national life. It is best explained in Panditji's own words.

He says, "In a social system where the social behaviour of individuals promotes mutual well-being, individual freedom and dignity will also be guaranteed. Freedom of the individual, in this context will mean that he is free to make himself capable of contributing to the progress of others. To play such a role, we must first ourselves become able and strong: he alone can contribute who has some strength and power of his own. Being conducive does not mean being dependent on others. Dependence implies selfishness and servility and a sense of being at somebody's mercy. In mutual coordination there is no dependence or servility: there is freedom to cooperate. In cooperation there is an expression of our strength and ability to contribute. The desire to use all the individual capabilities for the maximum good of others creates opportunities for a continuous process of development. When we work together for each other's good, everybody is delighted. One shares that delight with others, and this leads also to one's development. Both the individual and the society are happy. Individual and society are related like the limbs of a living organism. Every limb acts in a manner conducive to the growth, health and efficacy of the whole body, the arms for protection, the stomach for strength from food consumed and so on. If these limbs are in conflict with one another, the body will weaken and die. So the various parts of the body are deemed to be complementary: the hand picks up the food and feeds the mouth, the mouth chews it and passes it on to the belly which digests it and forms it into blood which activates the whole body keeping every limb efficient and able."

Yajnya Chakra

All individuals, institutions, systems, structures must appreciate the importance of mutual understanding and complementariness so that the vitality, capacity and continuity of life remain unaffected. It is this characteristic thought that is expressed in the Bhagavat Geeta:

एवं प्रवर्तितं चक्रं नानवर्तयतीह यः।
अघायुरिन्द्रियारामो मोघं पार्थ स जीवति।।

(He who does not follow the cycle so created, is a sinner indulging only in base physical pleasures, and leads a useless life). This verse summarises the ideal of the relations between individual and society, and Panditji's thoughts on the nation, in both theoretical and practical aspects, are based on this. His genius ever aware of our life-vision finds a very charming expression in these thoughts, providing a new light to his compatriots. The terms used are the same old ones, and the actions and reactions they imply also are not basically new: but in the social context, Panditji offers such a convincing interpretation that we feel as if we have gained a totally new light. For example, Yajnya (sacrifice) is certainly not a new word: we will say that *Hindu* culture is mainly *Yajnya*-oriented. Those who discard everything that belongs to the old era vehemently say that *Yajnyas* are outdated and of no relevance to modern times. Pandit Deendayalji's standpoint is not merely sentimental : it is completely rational and philosophic. While arguing that the principle of man's highest bliss is inherent in *Yajnya* and that *Yajnya* shows the path of a coordinated social life he says, "The individual depends on society, society on the total creation, and the creation on the supreme power behind it. So long as these work in unison, everything goes on well. This is यज्ञचक्र (the cycle of sacrifice). The *Bhagavat Geeta* says that living creatures are created from *Anna* (food), food from rain, rain from *Yajnya, Yajnya* from *Karma* and *Karma* from *Brahma.* So the circle is completed (because of ultimate unduality of creatures and *Brahma*). This eternal cycle is the basis of all happiness. This is what we denote by the word *Dharma.* In other words, everyone doing his duty towards others helps the observance of *Dharma*, which sustains the society. That is bliss."

(Rashtra Jeewan Ki Disha)

In another article he says: "While performing *Yajnya*, we say इदं न मम (This is not mine). Whatever remains after the *Yajnya* is accepted as God's *Prasad* (gift with blessing). There can be no प्रसाद before यज्ञ. We are taught that all that we earn or produce is not for our consumption alone. The whole family enjoys what one individual member earns. By the great grace of God we are born as human beings. Even the food we eat is not for our own self. We take food so that our body should be nourished and that it should be utilised in doing His work. This implies that consideration shall not be for one's self alone, but for others as well, only if we completely assimilate this view of life and behave accordingly can we say that we are standing firmly on the foundation of *dharma.* The desire to sacrifice for a cause is an outcome of this attitude, and it helps solve different problems in life." This idea of complementariness and restraint in personal craving for sensual pleasures in *Hindu* philosophy is the principle of *Yajnya.* It will never become stale. For social well-being it is ever imperative. Panditji has analysed many such systems and institutions in relation to the nation. Reconstruction of national life in the changed situation has to be made on the firm basis of such eternal value concepts. This is the constant theme of all his earnest discussion on our national regeneration.

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The Identity of *Hindu Rashtra*

Pandit Deendayalji does not subscribe to the superficial and shallow manner in which people these days think about nationhood. After taking a broad survey of his thoughts on the Nation, State, institutions and system in the Nation, the weakness and disintegration of India arising due to the lack of the positive concept of the *Hindu Rashtra*, we will now discuss a theory that is fundamental to the entire ideological discussion. An integrated society has been living as one nation in *Hindusthan*, this ancient land of ours, for thousands of years. Page after page of our history records events showing this nationalist feeling. Right from the Vedas, the word *Rashtra* is profusely in use. In the Shri Sukta or *Shri Lakshmi Stotra* which is regularly recited by lakhs of Hindus, there is an invocation to goddess Lakshmi which contains the line प्रादुर्भूतो सुराष्ट्रेऽस्मिन् कीर्तिमृद्धिं ददातु मे (Since I was born in this excellent *Rashtra*, may glory and prosperity come to me!). There is pride in this, and also devotion to the Motherland. Has not some deep thinking gone behind this national life, its fundamental principle, the direction of the incentives and motivations behind all actions of individuals and society, duties and taboos, the rise and fall of society, the happiness and misery of the society and individuals here during these thousands of years? Was it from the British that we learnt patriotism? Or have our predecessors thought about the inspiring strength of patriotism? If so, what is that thought? Is it in harmony with modern times? Pandit Deendayalji has deeply and studiously deliberated on all these problems. It will have to be accepted that there is a common theme behind all the thinking in this sphere all over India. It has got completely identified with the *Hindu* spiritual thought. *Hindu* philosophers have time and again used the metaphor of the human body. The human body is concretely visible to everyone; but no one presumes that the body is the complete man. What is that light or impetus which enables our organs of cognition and organs of action to execute their respective functions? The *Hindu* philosophers have looked upon the spirit or the soul as the invisible, changeless and continuous force behind all these activities. A living body is inconceivable without a soul. This soul-force sustains the life-force, in the absence of which the body is rendered lifeless and is destroyed. The same is true about a Nation. The Science of Patriotism was given the name दैशिक शास्त्र (*Daishik Shastra*: the branch of knowledge studying the Nation), a word which is now obsolete, but which literally means the Science which deals with the protection of the Nation. Patriotism is a just another expression with the same connotation. The Indians thought about this life-force of the nation in the most scientific manner.

The Divine Motherland

The word देश (*Desh*) which broadly means 'country' or a certain territory or geographical area is not a synonym of राष्ट्र ('Rashtra'-a nation). The word देश has been used to refer to many regions in India, e.g. Telugu Desam, Maharashtra Desh, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh etc. These names do not evoke the idea of a nation in our minds. In many parts of the world, perhaps, anything like national life has not evolved as yet, and the mention of the name of that part does not evoke the image of any particular nation in our minds. '*Bharat* Desh', however, rouses the thought of a definite national entity in our minds. When we say 'यह सुंदर देश हमारा' (This beautiful land of ours), the idea is not limited to the mere hard mass of land. Our great motherland surrounded by the sea, protected in the north by the various branches of the Himalayas, with all the men and women with their characteristic ways of life, take living form before our mind's eye. When we call somebody देश-भक्त (a patriot), it is his love for the nation that we intend to refer. The existence of a well-defined territory is, of course, imperative for the making of a nation. We just can-not conceive of a nation without its land. The Motherland and the people living in it as its sons and daughters constitute a nation. The territory and the people are concrete things and it is these we describe when we use the word *Desh* or nation. A nation subsists only on a territory. Just as the soul has to have a body, a nation also needs a territory to subsist. So with the utterance of the word 'country', it is not a piece of land alone that we visualise, but it is the sentiment expressed in the song *'Vande Mataram'* that is aroused in us. Actually, nationhood is still more subtle, emotional and abstract. In this context, the example of Israel is outstanding in the history of the world. Palestine was the native land of the Jews from where they were exiled and scattered all over the world. A number of them took shelter in India. But though they lost their land, the visible, solid base of the 'nation', every Jew heart constantly nourished the memory of his land. Wherever on the face of this earth the Jew resided and whatever prosperity he attained there, his eyes were fixed on Palestine. Over and over again the Jew pledged to resettle on his own land. For eighteen hundred years, generation after generation, the Jew nation thrived, though only in the Jew mind, without any solid support of their own land. Nobody could point out Israel on the map of the world. But it lived in an invisible form in the emotional world of the Jews. At long last, after World-War II, they succeeded in obtaining a territorial base of their own, and there they rebuilt the fresh edifice with all its characteristic features like religion, culture, language, etc. They made their life vibrant. This resurgence of national spirit manifested itself in many struggles it had to wage later. It must be borne in mind that though 'Country' and 'Nation' cannot be separated, 'Nation' is more subtle, mysterious, abiding and invisible power. It is obvious that without this feeling of great reverence for the Motherland and complete devotion to her, there can be no nation. In the absence of this feeling the entire concept of a 'nation' gets distorted. In a speech in Bangalore in 1960, Shri Guruji cited an example illustrating this perversion of our veteran leaders even after independence. Shri Guruji referred to a statement made by no less a personality than Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Shri Guruji regretfully said, "A collection of the speeches of the Prime Minister has recently been published. In one of his speeches, he said: 'What we call our Motherland is in fact only a land formed of stones and earth.' In his opinion it was simply silly to refer to this collection of earth and stones as 'Motherland'. I do not intend to comment on this, but it is a fact that he made this statement. I do not know in what mood Jawaharlalji was when he uttered these words because he is a man of changing moods. Our forefathers have taught us to look upon our Motherland with devotion as our Divine Mother. That has been our tradition. But the Prime Minister says that we should look upon this Motherland as a dead and cold land made up of earth and stones. How can such an attitude arouse our devotion to the Motherland? It must be accepted that at the present time in all the high, middle and lower strata of our society we find an absence of genuine, deep devotion for the Motherland." In order to stand firm as a nation, the people must possess a sense of devotion to the motherland.

The Inherent National Spirit

But according to our *Daishik Shastra* (Science of Patriotism) there is vital element that gives nationhood to people living in the same territory, having the same language and way of living, common triumphs and defeats, common friend-foe relationship, and all other common aspects. This invisible vital element has been named चिति (*Chiti*) by our scholars in this branch of study. Pandit Deendayalji appears to have used the same scientific term in his theories about nationhood. To put it simply, *Chiti* is the national spirit or the natural character of the nation. The writers of *Daishik Shastra* are of the opinion that a Nation simply cannot be created artificially, while a State can be so created. After World War II, a number of such States appear to have been formed. Quite a few institutions, big and small, can also be artificially formed. Man can create systems, but a nation is born with a *Chiti*. The existence of the *Chiti*, its radical spirit, is the same as the existence of the Nation. When this inner consciousness of identity or *Chiti* is weakened, the nation becomes weak, and with the destruction of *Chiti* the nation loses its existence; its flowering is the nation's flowering. *Chiti* is the very *raison-d'etre* of that nation. The nation experiences supreme happiness if its all-sided life follows this life-purpose.

The history of the world tells us of the fall of various nations. What do we mean by saying that a nation perished ? Has that piece of land on which it subsisted vanished? Is it no longer inhabited by people ? It very much is; yet we say that the old nation is no longer in existence. The ancient nation of Iran does not exist today, nor does that of Egypt or Greece. This means that it is now inhabited by a people and ruled over by a government who possess a different *Chiti*: it is inhabited by people having a different civilisation and possessing a very different view of life. The identity of the society there has changed. There is no common inherent tie binding the old and the new. In the case of a human being we see that childhood, boyhood, youth, middle age, old age are different stages of his life through which he passes, but he refers to himself at every stage as 'I'. What makes for the continuity of this 'I'? As a matter of fact, many internal and external changes have taken place in his body. Scientists say that the cells in a human body are constantly changing, so that after a certain period all the cells in a human body are entirely new. Yet it is the same man, because his identity does not change. This identity is born of the throbbing self-consciousness in him. It is intangible and abstract.

Panditji illustrated this point with the funny anecdote of a barber and his razor. This barber proudly told his customers that his razor was sixty years old and that his father also carried on his trade with the same razor. A customer closely scrutinised the razor and found that the handle had a new luster. He said to the barber, 'This handle appears to be new. It does not look so old'. The barber admitted that he had got it changed just six months before. On further enquiry he said that the blade also was changed three years ago. Thus, though the handle and blade were both new, the barber still claimed that the razor was the same as was used by his father sixty years ago. This for him was a matter of conviction and sentiment, and a sense of identity. It was a point of pride and prestige. Every nation also has an identity which is in the form of its *Chiti.* It is collective and natural. The nation's continuity depends on the continuity of this identity. This can be illustrated by another example as well. What exactly happens to a tree, a fruit or a flower when it develops ? It assumes an outward form according to its innate nature. A hyacinth flower does not become a rose, the thorny *babul* tree does not develop the characteristics of a fragrant Sandalwood tree, nor an alphonso mango those of an orange. The seed determines the nature of the tree. The process of development is gratifying and the gardener takes great care to see that this development takes place on the best possible lines. He uses effective mannure and waters the tree. The process of growth picks up. But he cannot change its natural identity. Even in the case of individuals, if the atmosphere is congenial to his natural inclinations, likes and dislikes and inherent qualities, he makes a mark in his particular field. It is said that a poet is born and not made. A person may possess poetic genius, another qualities of a sculptor, a third of an engineer and a fourth of a doctor. But due to the absence of congenial atmosphere and proper opportunities so many people have to live a frustrated and discontented life.

Secret of a Happy Nation

We see the same principle working in nature and in individual as well as in national life. Though external factors may affect the innate nature to some extent, basically it remains the same. It is with these inherent characteristics that a nation is born. It is the life-inspiration, the driving spirit behind it. Its influence on the entire populace is all-pervading, yet its origin cannot be traced to specific causes. If an attempt is made to force the nation to follow a contrary path, problems and distortions arise. The findings of modern psychology also show that if a man is humiliated or neglected, his body reacts to this and various ailments start troubling it. He feels restless and frustrated. His cheerfulness wanes and he finds himself unable to function efficiently. He is deprived of all the joy in life. The same thing is true of a nation. What is it that helps a nation establish its individuality ? Answer to all these questions can be sought in the light of our history. The first thing to be taken into account is that no one knows when our nation was born. Even if we go back to the beginning of the *Vedic* times as the earliest epoch in known history, we existed in the form of a nation even then. That the so-called Aryan race came from somewhere outside; that they defeated the *'dasyus'* and gradually spread their influence from north to south is a cock-and-bull story which the foreigners invented and we swallowed down. The Hindus are the sons of this soil and they have always lived here in the same spirit. The basic value concepts of this land have also existed with the society all these millennia. Our society has consistently rejected whatever is contrary to those values. Whenever something contrary to our basic traditions has taken place, or whenever attempts have been made to do something against our basic traditions, it has not been owned or appreciated by our people. This means that a nation in this form of *Chiti* has been in existence here from times immemorial.

Such an extraordinary, inherent compound of qualities comprising inner commonness of national mind in a vast territory cannot be artificially created. It must be taken as in-born. A common philosophical thought is expressed in various Indian languages about a number of things like the relation between the individual soul and universal God, the goal of human life, naming of great qualities of character, efforts to develop a high, excellent character for the achievement of this purpose and common faith and reverence for those great men who, in their actual life, manifested these divine qualities. This inner common recognition of notions of good and evil simply mystifies us and makes us wonder what the basis of this commonness is. When and how it was created, what force there is that directs at its will all external actions and events in spite of the innumerable changes that took place during these thousands of years. These are some of the questions that arose in Deendayaiji's mind as well, and he said, all this is due to *Chiti*, the inherent, all-pervading and lasting force behind our nation. Its influence on the gross national activity cannot simply be denied: it cannot be artificially created, and so he said: "Nation is not like a club which can be started or dissolved. A nation is not created by some crores of people passing a resolution and defining a common code of behaviour binding on all its members. A certain mass of people emerges with an inherent motivation. It is like the soul adopting the medium of the body."

The Example of Yugoslavia

People of the same nationality may be forced by circumstances to remain under different regimes or people of different nationalities may have been compelled to live under one common political power. In recent times, the question of Yugoslavian nationhood is a much-discussed issue. It is often referred to as a multinational country. It is under Communist Party rule. The dogged effort to weaken the nationalist sentiment and to create understanding and co-operation on the basis of the communist philosophy has all but failed there. Three autonomous States have secured recognition in the Yugoslav Republic. According to Lenin, national aspirations are subservient to class struggle. Marx claimed that the working class made up of 'have-nots' considers the progress of their class as more important. This has been proved to be totally wrong because the Slav, Sav and Grote communities have each of them a separate *Chiti* or inborn national identity. Even the dictatorial Communist Government could not merge these three distinct *Chitis* into one. The Indian *Daishik Shastra* is very clear on this point-the same territory cannot be the land of different communities or nations one of the two communities has either to give up its separate identity and merge itself into the other, or be subjected to constant exploitation by the other. This means that it is only when the *Chiti* is completely destroyed that one nation can possibly give up its natural identity and merge itself into the other. This could not happen in Yugoslavia. The Republics there are not yet identical to one nation and the Central Communist Administration has to face tremendous strains and unceasing unrest. In the adjoining States outside Yugoslavia there are areas sharing the same *Chiti* as that of one or the other parts of Yugoslavia and the people in Yugoslavia are drawn towards the people having the same *Chiti*. In the Kosovo province, the Government has failed to solve the problem of 17 lakhs of Albanian followers of Islam. Some groups are busy spreading the winds of Islamic Revolution in Yugoslavian Muslims. The Communist Regime has been required to resort to widespread arrests in order to halt the progress of the fundamentalist movement of Iranian brand. This is a glaring example of how heterogeneous *Chitis* do not merge together. In the Yugoslav Constitution, appears the term 'Nations of Yugoslavia': we wonder how it came to be there. In the modern world, there is a continuous conflict between the all-powerful artificial government in power and the *Chiti*-influenced national sentiment. No economic philosophy or theory seems to have the capacity to resolve the issue. Yugoslavia is just such an example in point and so it has been briefly cited here. Yugoslavia has also proved that mere pragmatic self-interest cannot create the one-nation feeling among the people.

Dharma as the *Chiti* of *Hindu Rashtra*

The national characteristics of *Bharat*, as we see them, are all expressions of its soul or spirit in the form of its *Chiti*. Our love for our people sharing common traditions with us is due to our common *Chiti*, not because of our common economic interests. The manifestation of the *Chiti* is itself the proof of its existence. Though we cannot see electricity with our eyes, there exists an invisible electric current which lights the lamp and executes various other tasks. This, we believe, is the proof of its existence. The same principle must be applied to the manifestation of *Chiti*. What were the criteria of the greatness of our national personalities ? Why did our culture develop the way it did? Why were our wars, waged ? What really led to the various conflicts ? What are the commonly accepted norms of personal character? Why did we Indians never indulge in imperialist aggressions? The answer to all these questions will, in the final analysis, have to be traced to our national *Chiti*. This *Chiti* is our innate national character. It is in the light of this *Chiti* that our actions in all walks of life are prompted, and the joy of its fulfilment seems to be the mode of life of the sons and daughters of this land of *Bharat*. Even a casual glance at some pages of our history will make this clear. It will also throw light on our national character.

The Ramayana and the Mahadbharat are our well-recognised national epics. Speaking about them, Lokmanya Tilak has said, "The stories and legends in Ramayana and Mahabharat are equally popular all over India and they arouse similar sentiments in the hearts of the people, thus showing our national unity. *Mahabharat* is a national epic and great scholars think that if we lose this common foundation, the special character that our future progress should attain will not be possible." What Tilak is suggesting is that *Hindu Rashtra* has a common national character and on it depends our unity, the continuity of that unity and our national vitality. Ravana was the master of immense wealth. It is said that his Lanka was all gold. He was a *Brahmin*, devotee of Lord Shiva. Though he was mighty and aspired for world supremacy, Ravana is not a subject of adoration or admiration anywhere. All praise goes to Shri Ramachandra. When Vibhishana deserted Ravana and joined hands with Rama, that was, in a way, an act of treachery towards his brother, his people and his country, and in the modern terminology he should be called a Quisling. But no one denounces him thus. On the other hand he is praised because he helped Rama in his victory and became his devotee. He earned a place among the *Parama-Bhagavatas* (great devotees). Maha*Bharat* says, Shri Krishna killed his own maternal uncle. Krishna resorted to deceitful stratagems so that the *Pandavas* should win. The killings of Jarasandha, Kama, Drona, Jayadratha or Duryodhana cannot be apparently regarded as examples of fair play. And yet *Hindu Rashtra* calls him *Yogeshwara* (Master of Yoga), *Jagadguru* (preceptor of the world). His Geeta is worshipped by all. *Dharma*raj is dear to us, Duryodhana is detestable. Rama, full of filial piety, is dear to us yet Prahlad, who disobeyed his father, is a subject of our devotion as a Mahabhagavata. Shri Krishna, who gives non-violence (ahimsa) the highest place in godly virtues, goads Arjuna in the Bhagawat Geeta to war and preaches to him that the destruction of innumerable men in that war is in keeping with his *dharma*. The whole nation feels great affinity for the *Pandavas* while the *Kauravas* are despised. The *Rishis* who killed the despotic King Vena are in our eyes innocent. Rama abandoned his wife Seeta, but this enhances his stature as a King. *Rama Rajya* is looked upon as the eternal norm of ideal, nation-prone model administration. All this internal commonness in us is due only to our *Chiti*.

Even in modern times, we consider Chhatrapati Shivaji, Rana Pratap, Sikh Gurus, and the galaxy of proud, intrepid warriors who fought against the Mughal power as belonging to our national tradition. Mirza Raja Jaisingh, who brought Catastrophe on the *Hindavi Swarajya* and Jaichand, who helped bring about the downfall of King Prithviraj, evoke in us a national feeling of abhorrence. The sages and saints who spread in our great society the light of spiritual knowledge in the times of our slavery or prior to it are our objects of great veneration.

Their portraits and pictures adorn the walls of our homes. We do not have the tradition of hanging on our walls the portraits of millionaires who amassed immense material wealth. Is there any economic or political justification for our veneration for these saintly men, their actions, their many noble deeds ? A purely worldly sociological criterion ? None whatsoever. The life-mission of men like Ramakrishna Paramahansa, Swami Vivekanand, Ramana Maharshi, Yogi Aurobindo, Swami Dayanand, and Swami Ramatirtha was not at all economic or political in character. The entire life-experience of our people was never totally linked to economic prosperity or power politics. The internal bond which binds us to King Janaka and to a half-naked *Sannyasi* with equal reverence and adoration is quite a different one. That, in fact, constitutes our *Chiti*, the *raison d'etre* of our national existence. Our rise and fall are bound to that *Chiti*. Some examples of lives, events and attitudes which have been held by our *Chiti* as great, worthy of emulation, memorable and inspiring, have been cited above. We may pick up any of these and the burden of our song is: That which is for *dharma* is dear and that which is for *adharma* is taboo.

Mahayogi Aurobindo's Message

This is the natural God-endowed, inborn character of our *Chiti*. This is the direction of the entire life-stream of *Bharat*: happiness in the rise of *dharma*, and gloom when it declines. God has stated the reason for his various *avataras* (incarnations) in these words: धर्मसंस्थापनार्थाय संभवामि युगे युगे (I take birth in different eras for the establishment of *dharma*). On the battlefield of Kurukshetra, Shri Krishna has himself vouched for this. Rama's side is *dharma's* side; Ravana's, of *adharma*. *Pandavas'* side is of *dharma*; *Kauravas'*, *adharma*. Rana Pratap and Akbar, Shivaji and Aurangazeb, Tilak-Gandhi and the British represent *dharma* and *adharma* respectively. This is the assertion of our national soul-our Chili. Our *Chiti* is *dharma* itself. Love of *dharma* is the inherent nature of *Hindu Rashtra*. The divine purpose of the creation and existence of this nation is to keep the banner of *dharma* fluttering high. *Hindu Rashtra* can never be waylaid into the opposition of *dharma* either by cold rationalism or by the ego of so-called progressivism. If we forsake the basic spirit of our *dharma* which is our *Chiti*, it would be the end of our life as a nation. Pandit Deendayalji's inevitable conclusion drawn from this elucidation of our *Chiti* is that *Hindu Rashtra* can live only with *dharma*. Earlier Shri Aurobindo, in his speech at Uttarpada, had expressed this very truth as his own actual personal experience to the Indian people. He said: "Our movement for national resurgence is not political - it is spiritual and religious. Our nationalism is not mere politics; it is an article of faith, it is worship. *Sanatana Dharma* is our nationalism. *Hindu Rashtra* was born along with *Sanatana Dharma* . The two are indivisible: their direction and development are identical. When *Sanatana Dharma* declines, the nation also declines. If there is any possibility of *Sanatana Dharma* ever dying, *Hindu Rashtra* will also die with it. Let me reiterate this openly: *Sanatana Dharma* is our nationhood. This is the *mantra* God has given me." Right from the time of Maharshi Vyasa till today, this *Dharma* principle has remained unbroken. Swami Vivekanand refers to legends which tell us that different beings had their life-source at different places. The life-force of *Bharat* is in *dharma*. Brutal attacks can never annihilate *Bharat*. It can die only if it deviates from the path of *dharma*. Our nation without *dharma* will be like a mere corpse whose spirit has left the body. Great men and even God in his *avatara* (incarnation) have been born here again and again so that this should not happen.

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The Path of Bliss

We have already discussed Deendayalji's view that *Dharma* is not Religion or Sect. Deendayalji had categorically repudiated the so-called progressive views expressed in the name of secularism that *dharma* is an entirely personal matter, that it had nothing to do with society or nation. *Dharma* is a much wider term with an extensive connotation and the very mention of *dharma* evoked similar sentiments in the hearts of crores of our people all over India, which really helps us to understand the real meaning of the word *'dharma'*. *Dharma* is our *Chiti*, the inner spirit that pervades all of us. The truth of this positive approach of Deendayalji is demonstrated by the *Hindu* view of life and our value system. This way of life, its direction and destination, its cultural value system is the main distinguishing feature of the *Hindu Rashtra*. There is undoubtedly a supreme purpose of life which transcends all differences and peculiarities of caste, sect, province, language, food habits and which is common all over the *Hindu Rashtra*. This purpose is not one of erecting huge political empires or becoming the military masters of the world. nor is it that of amassing immense wealth by exploiting the whole world and enjoying it to our heart's content. *Bharat* has had no such gross or worldly goal before it, nor have the Hindus ever shed the blood of others or perpetrated atrocities as Alexander, Changiz Khan, Mahamood of Gazni did. On the other hand, it has always given a warm welcome and shelter to social groups who, like the Parsis and

Jews, have become victims of aggression and atrocities elsewhere. This is part and parcel of collective *Hindu* character. Brutal aggression being alien to the natural collective thinking and nature of Hindus or to their *Chiti,* aggression cannot be taken recourse to in imitation of others. In the divine cultural stream, here, demoniac tendencies alien to our *Chiti* can never find shelter; they are a 'foreign matter' to the body of the *Hindu* society. What, then, is our national goal ?

All thinkers and philosophers analysing ancient and modern history hold the unanimous view that the purpose of life according to the Hindus is self-realisation and the resultant unbroken, pure, unmixed, highest bliss. The sole direction of all structures, systems, activities, arts and knowledge here has from ancient times, been this. Even in personal life, every *Hindu* expects environment conducive to spiritual pursuits. You may ask a number of questions: why does a *Hindu* want adequate means of livelihood ? Why does he desire an undisturbed and quiet life? What is his idea of a good administration ? The answers to all such questions have as their centre spirituality or *dharma.* Crores of Indians from one end of the country to the other are bound together by this common purpose of life and the way of life to be adhered to achieve it. *Dharma* is present at every step and in every aspect in everyone's life. It is so comprehensive that it is impossible to imagine Indian life devoid of *dharma*; it is the *Chiti* that is the criterion of good and bad in national life. Call it what you like, self-realization, *Moksha* (deliverance) or in effect, the attainment of eternal bliss, but it has been our national goal for ages. Those who tried to preserve this goal, those who worked hard or made sacrifices for the permanence of this *dharma* in every field became holy and worthy of reverence from us. One who, after long penance, attains deliverance is, in the eyes of a *Hindu*, far greater than a mighty emperor. Even the greatest of *Hindu* Kings would gladly be prostrate and pay respects to a saint or seer who has attained this bliss and offer him a seat higher than his own throne. He would gladly worship at his feet. This is the urge of our national *Chiti.* There is nothing artificial about it. We use the word *Samadhi* even in the case of music, dance, painting, sculpture, which indicates that this experience of identity with the supreme self in the universe is possible even through these arts.

No room would be left for confusion if we look at life here in the light of this *Chiti* while studying India. Many Indian and foreign historians and scholars get confused and come to the most distorted conclusions because they have lost the context of this *Chiti.* Many things outwardly appear similar, but in one situation a thing is good; in another the contrary is proved to be good. Similar things sometimes seem good; sometimes evil. *Ahimsa* (non-violence), *Satya* (truth), *Asteya* (non-stealing), *Akrodha* (absence of anger) are qualities which must be considered in the light of *dharma.* If we do that, we will not find any contradictions in the life of Rama or in the lives of Incarnations who enacted their roles on the world stage. The significance of this context of *dharma* is maintenance of conduciveness for the proper worldly and spiritual life of individual and society and the restraint of evil forces creating impediments in that flow of life. Was it in order to gain the throne for himsejf that Shri Krishna killed Kansa? Did the Rishi's crave for the throne when they brought about the death of King Vena ? Did Rama abandon Sita for any personal grievance? Did he crave the kingdom of Lanka after he killed Ravana ? The *Chiti* of *Hindu Rashtra* elevates this selflessness, detachment, destruction of demons and actions of social good to the high levels of divinity. The long line of our saints like Jnyaneshwar has for this very reason gained our national esteem.

Our *Dharma*-Permeated Life

The Hindus had established an effective way of spreading the light of *Chiti* to every individual, and to some extent the tradition still continues. *Dharma* has been woven into the fabric of everyday *Hindu* life in such a way that right from waking up in the morning to going to bed at night, every activity of man involves *dharma.* This does not mean that every man thinks of the underlying principles and philosophy or *dharma* at every step. For example, the *Tulsi* plant has medicinal qualities. To have a *Tulsi* plant at the door, to worship it and to perform

प्रदक्षिणा (to go round and round it) these were considered religious rites. To know the medicinal qualities of *Tulsi* plant and to use it for the cure of ailments was undoubtedly advisable; but because of its association with *dharma*, it is not only useful but also sacred. The cow is considered the mother and called गोमाता (Cow, the mother). Research about a number of its products like cow's milk and urine is being conducted because of their medicinal qualities. The utility of the cow is beyond all doubt. But for a *Hindu*, it is not only a useful beast that comes before his minds' eye, at the utterance of the word गोमाता (Cow, the mother). Generally, every *Hindu* has a sense of reverence for it. He feels that it is his *dharma*. Our actions and activities through our daily life are all various duties or *dharma-sevaka-dharma*, *pati-dharma*, *putra-dharma*, *patni-dharma*, *swami-dharma* (the duties of a servant, husband, son, wife etc.). A set of rules, duties, and moral laws forming a satisfying, harmonious social life runs through our everyday life in the form of *dharma*. It is conducive to our ultimate life-purpose. The basic consideration is our duties, not rights. A *dharma* which is meant for holding the society together and leading it in a definite direction is primarily duty-oriented. We are told not to be greedy in order to satisfy the cravings of the palate; the intake of food is meant for keeping our body in working order. The body itself is but an instrument of *dharma*. So, consuming food is to be treated as a *Yajnya-Karma* (a sacrificial act). It means that the body is not for mere enjoyment; it is to be used in the service of God. Various such examples can be cited to illustrate the restraints necessary and the motivation behind our do's and don'ts in every day life. The ultimate goal of all these human activities is the attainment of bliss and self-realisation both for the individual and the society. It has rightly been said by Swami Ramdas: "Blessed indeed is that man who serves the cause of God, whose tongue constantly utters the name of God Rama and who always follows the rules of *dharma*"

These lines from the मनोबोध (Manobodha=Advice to one's mind) express in a nutshell the *Hindu* theme of the role of *dharma* in day-to-day life; it is dangerous to deny this all-pervading principle of the spirit of our nation, it will only do harm. Swami Vivekanand, who kindled the spark of self-respect and self-confidence of the Hindus with his highly eloquent words, had realised the importance of this national *chiti*. He has given a stern warning that deviating from our *chiti* would lead to complete destruction. This is in line with the *Daishik Shastra*. He discusses this national character and says: "For a *Hindu*, political and social freedom are important, but the real value is that of spiritual freedom and deliverance. This is our national life-purpose. We have seen that our vitality, our strength, our national spirit lies in *dharma*. I have no desire to discuss here whether this is right or wrong. Nor do I want to enter into a discussion as to whether having the source of our strength in *dharma* is advantageous or otherwise. Right or wrong, this is the reality now and always has been. Whatever you want to do, you must accept this as the basis. Then even if you haven't as much faith in our *dharma* as I have, you just cannot run away from this reality. You are bound down by this faith. If you give it up, you will be destroyed. This is the life-force of our nation and we must develop it."

It cannot be said that all people in *Bharat* honestly act in accordance with the national *chiti*. There are bound to be some who defy the *dharma* idea, there are others who go astray owing to their greed of wealth. But we can note one interesting thing: our society has scant respect for those who act against our *chiti*. Even the evil-doers are conscious in some corner of their heart that they are committing 'sin'. Even if our life may not be unblemished and virtuous, all of us including the sinners accept the norms of good behaviour and we tend to bow down our heads with respect wherever such an ideal behaviour is found. This is what makes 'moral force' so effective. Because of our *chiti*, private character is considered very important even in public life. The words of a leader who does not bring his own precepts in practice carry no influence. This is seen in all fields of life. The dwindling of the number of persons whose actions diffuse the light of *chiti* is an indication of the weakening of our sense of national identity. In Indian history we find that whenever there was a wave of spiritual awakening in the country, a galaxy of men with exceptional capacities also emerged simultaneously and the country made great strides in material progress. The nation became strong and the influence of its towering genius clearly manifested itself in all walks of life. Before the nation came to know Pandit Deendayalji, he had written a short biography of Shrimat Adya Shankaracharya. This extremely readable book in Hindi is indicative of the direction that Pandit Deendayalji's thinking on national issues took from the beginning. In the Introduction we find the golden age in India very charmingly depicted. While pointing to the characteristic features of this age, Deendayalji says: "The leadership of the period by dint of their constructive programmes promoted national character in place of destructive attitudes. Because of this, greater effort seems to have been made to strengthen and broaden the age-old Vedic traditions in this period than that made to defeat Buddhism. Concentrated efforts were made to reach the bright light of nationalism in all directions, and as a result, the darkness of anti-nationalist forces automatically faded away. In this effort, *sadhus, sannyasis*, poets, artists, writers of the Puranas, *Suta* and *Smriti* writers, creators of the *darshanas*, saints and hermits who kept the sweet stream of devotion flowing, victorious kings of great prowess who performed the *Ashwamedha* sacrifice and extended their rule far and wide in all directions, and statesmen who strengthened the spiritual and cultural unity of the country by their statesmanship, masters of ethics, artisans and traders-all these vied with one another in making the flame of nationalism brighter. They were all so eager to sacrifice their all for this national resurgence. This nationalist feeling was not limited to a few philosophers and thinkers, the entire society was brimming with that sentiment. This explains the unprecedented spate of activity in this era."

The Origin of Impelling Activity

Panditji writes further: "It is not merely for the extensive empires of that era, fathomless wealth, unique prosperity, captivating and classic literature that we look upon this age as the Golden Age. We have none of these things with us today-great empires have vanished, the wealth is no more, the prosperity has waned and the arts and literature of those times has become an object of research by scholars and of entertainment. Our sense of being one nation and the organisation of *sanskaras* giving concrete shape to the idea of national unity and indivisibility is the only lasting gift of that age. In fact, the one-nation concept is a legacy from ancient times."Panditji himself described Shankaracharya as a glowing example of the assimilative character of *Hindu dharma* and also as the blissful fruit of *Vedic dharma*'s अक्षय वट (immortal Banyan tree) planted thousands of years ago, but evergreen since then. So it is seen that the urge for action started with *dharma* and grew with *dharma*, and that the light of this national *chiti* spread all-round and material life here also flourished along with it. The awakening of this *Dharma*-formed *chiti* forms the background even of Chhatrapati Shivaji's epoch-making achievement. The spiritual awakening brought about by a series of saints from Jnyaneshwar to Ramdas manifested itself in the material achievement of Shivaji, and that awakening served as a beacon-light for a hundred and fifty years to come. The stupendous edifice of the Mughal Empire collapsed before a virulent attack by this inspired strength. Even the struggle for independence against the British attained a sharp edge because of the spread of the teachings of various spiritual leaders like Shri Ramakrishna, Vivekanand, Dayanand, Aurobindo etc. What else can explain the discovery of the photographs and books of Swami Vivekanand in the hide-outs of the revolutionaries ? The public support received by Lokmanya Tilak and Mahatma Gandhi has been amply discussed. The obvious fact is that in the eyes of the common people both these leaders were devoted to *dharma*. These leaders propagated their thoughts and ideas through people's *dharma*, in the language of *Hindu* traditions and illustrations drawn from historical ideals - very simple, efficacious and easy to understand. The awakening of the national *chiti* and its refulgent brightness resulted into the determined activity aspiring for a final triumph.

We see the same cultural awakening in our hearts today. The utterance of the very word '*Hindu*' arouses a feeling of oneness amongst the Hindus, making them conscious of the same blood flowing through their veins. We must appeal to this integrated nationalism today again, and follow the traditions of our self-sacrificing and ever active predecessors so that we attain glory and prosperity for our Motherland stretching from Sindhu to Brahmaputra and Rameshwar to the Himalayas. This is Panditji's apeal, bassed on the scientific principle of *chiti*. He made fervent appeals to his compatriots to take to this way, proved by history and to halt our downward march and arouse in our hearts the indomitable aspiration for victory based on spiritual excellence. It is a matter of great pride for us that the ethos and the inborn mission that nature has bestowed upon *Bharat* is essentially devine and not demoniac. A nation gifted with divine *chiti* is capable of righteous intentions, world-comprehending intellect and giving the promise of a prolonged existence. The excellent qualities manifested by its people in action are also born of this divine *chiti*. Our great national virtues and characteristics which we proudly claim are in fact born out of this rare divine gift. Philosophers, writers of *Shastras* are of the opinion that even though the heavenly gift of *chiti* becomes weak and the nation falls on evil days, it still has the inherent ability of endurance and survival. The *chiti* does not lose its purity either in prosperity or in adversity; an alien *chiti* cannot adversely influence it beyond a certain limit. The pure force of the *chiti* remains in a potential, subdued form and gains strength at the first available opportunity and spreads all over the nation again. Mother Nature needs the emergence of such nations bestowed with divine *chiti* again and again. This is what we mean when we say that *Bharat* will once again establish the rule of *dharma* in human life. If Bharat's *chiti* is rekindled, its glorious revival cannot but follow. Patriots have to carry out this task of awakening the *chiti*. It was only for this mission that Deendayalji worked unceasingly all his life and ultimately became a victim of some treacherous enemy of India. The story of his life makes this clear.

Virat, The Life-Force

Just as *chiti* is the soul-power of a nation, another force accompanies it-the *VIRAT* shakti, as the *Daishik Shastra* terms it. In Deendayalji's logic, *VIRAT* is a scientific technical term with a definite connotation. He elucidates:"So long as the *Chiti* is throbbing and pure, the Nation continues to prosper. It is the spirit of *chiti* that creates *virat*. The organised and unified fighting strength which protects the nation from aggression and dissention is called *virat*. Man is a social animal and has an intense natural fellow-feeling, which impels him to make sacrifices for society. Fellow-feeling among the individuals (forming a society) causes their strength to add up into a tremendous force which constitutes *virat* and this *virat* protects the nation. When virat is awakened by the light of *chiti*, we say: "The nation has awakened'. *Virat* is the life-force of a nation, while *chiti* is the soul. When the organized strength of a nation, awakened and unified by the glowing *chiti*, manifests itself as impelled by the *virat*, the nation worshipping the Motherland busies itself in attaining worldly and other-worldly prosperity and stands firm and unconquerable. This is the eternal and true principle regarding a nation. *Hindu Rashtra* is the living manifestation of this principle.

This scientific idea is at first rather difficult to comprehend. But the example of the human body will help make it simple. We have already explained that *chiti* is the soul of national life, because of which the body has existence. But for the soul to express itself and the soul-force to be activated, the *prana shakti,* which is most commonly experienced through our breath but actually which activates our entire body in all its actions, is most essential. If this force ceases to function even for some time, and breathing stops, a man will feel stifled and every limb of the body will experience unbearable pangs. It will seek relief from choking and suffering. The soul is in the body at that time as well: it is there only so long as the *prana* (life) functions. Society needs political and other forms of freedom because it feels smothered under foreign rule. In a slave country the national *prana* does not breathe freely and the spirit of the nation finds it difficult to manifest itself. So *virat,* the *prana shakti* is looked upon as the nation's organised resistance-power. If it is unified, lively, effective and strong in the form of integrated social consciousness, all systems in the nation function smoothly. Even the government can do nothing contrary to *chiti.* The main duty of the State-viz. that of systematically removing every obstacle in the flowering of the life of society in all fields of activity in accordance with the *chiti,* is done in a very efficient way.

A well-organised society with an awakened *chiti* does not tolerate a government functioning in an unnatural way i.e., contrary to the *chiti.* Where an unnatural government is tolerated, it means that the society is somnolent, disorganised, self-oblivious, or in other words, devoid of *virat.* If the *chiti* is not awake, *virat* becomes helpless. Valour lacks all direction. The nation becomes weak, yielding, backboneless, rent by internal strife. The national centres, points of honour and faith go unidentified. It can be easily subjugated. It loses its value-system.

Inwardly, the pricks of *chiti* make a nation conscious of its life-purpose and *virat* enables it to stand doggedly for the fulfillment of that purpose. If national life goes on in tune with its life-purpose in a smooth and well-organised manner, the society which forms the nation experiences the highest bliss- both as individuals and as a community. It is for this bliss that a nation whose *chiti* is awake is prepared for any sacrifice.

The Present Weak State of *Chiti*

If we evaluate our present situation in the light of the scientific analysis made so far, we will have to admit that our national *chiti* has grown very weak. Its consciousness is felt in a very small section of the society. It is altogether contrary to the *dharma* of patriotism to look to another nation which is very prosperous or still another which has attained affluence and material power and thinks of aping it. Traversing this unnatural path results in the encroachment of an alien *chiti* on the national *chiti.* Our urge and activity dry up. We do not seem to realize this danger today. The imposing of a foreign *chiti* quickens our downfall and disintegration. We are tempted to imitate other nations; we neglect our natural life-mission and the jubilation arising from the fulfilment of that purpose. In such a situation, immoral and selfish men tend to assume prominence, the *Daishik Shattra* tells us. At present we see this happening in all walks of life. If the situation is to be changed, the only way is to re-assert our *chiti* and virat and offer a determined resistance to things contrary to it. Wisdom tells us that singing panegyrics of India's past greatness will not achieve anything. In recent times, we come across a number of scholars who deliver learned discourses on the glorious culture of India. But mere verbal expression of our pride in *Hindu dharma* and culture is not enough. This pride must be supported by concomitant action. The very term *dharma* signifies some kind of action. *Dharma* is not mere mental and intellectual consent to something; just as a mere desire of the progress of the country is not patriotism. *Daishik dharma* or patriotism is a superior kind of *Karmayoga*. The concept of a great *samaj-purusha* which we have from *Vedic* times is in tune with our national ethos or *chiti*. Even though this *samaj purusha* or *virat* has thousands of heads and arms, there is only one heart, the *prana shakti* is the same. When the entire society assumes this *virat* form, the relations between the *samaja purusha* and the individual members become as those between the body and its limbs. The *samaja purusha* experiences its inner spiritual oneness and the *virat purusha*, extremely happy with this self-realization, performs all his activities through various limbs. Every limb tries its best to protect the *rashtra purusha*, and to fulfil its purpose. If a man is struck on his head, the hands automatically rise in self-defence; if a thorn pricks the toe, the sensation spreads all over the body and all limbs feel the hurt, - the hands and eyes make appropriate movements to extract the thorn. This *virat*, however, depends for its existence entirely on the *chiti*. The roots of most of our problems today are in the weak *chiti* and the absence of a vibrant *virat*.

It has been mentioned earlier that Pandit Deendayalji dedicated his entire life to the work of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh and even when he was working in the field of politics, he proudly professed to be a swayamsevak of the RSS. The secret of his conviction seems to be that so long as a vibrant spirit and urge for hard work are not imbibed by the society the desired change cannot be effected in the present situation through the medium of politics alone. The nation must be .awake to its inherent character and get organised on that basis. An integrated people's power, which has the capacity to promote the right policies and actions beneficial to the nation and inhibit the contrary ones, must become active and alert. That is the *Virat*. This exactly is the role of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh. The role of the RSS is that of the protective life-activity of an awakened nation. A weak *chiti* and a near-absence of *virat* lead to the aggression of a foreign *chiti*. Complete inability of the government to remove the harmful complexities in the society, its tendency to complicate simple problems because of hunger for power, have all stifled our nation. When the RSS calls this nation a *Hindu Rashtra* and works in a certain planned way to organise it, it is the awakening this national *chiti* and activating its *virat* that form its objectives. This effort is bound to lead the nation to spiritual and material prosperity and the experience of celestial joy in the Motherland. This being the scientific finding of the principle of patriotism, Panditji dedicated himself to this great cause and looked upon political work as a part of this great task. The dedication of Panditji and thousands of Sangh workers in the country proves that once a man intensely yearns for the vision of the Motherland as divine Mother in all her glory, no sacrifice at her alter appears too great. This itself is the kindling of the flame of patriotism and the beginning of the work of national regeneration. The work done so far is yet too small as compared to the need, too inadequate to bring about the change that is desired. But there is perfect clarity about the life-mission of our nation. The daily prayer of the RSS clearly mentions विधायास्य धर्मस्य संरक्षणम् (by achieving the protection of this *dharma*) and विजेत्री च नः संहता कार्यशक्तिः (our organised active strength leading to victory). RSS workers pray to Almighty God for strength and qualities needed to attain the completion of this task. This in fact is the basic requirement of regeneration according to our *Daishik Shastra.* In scientific terminology we call it *chiti* and *virat.* The great national heroes working in different fields arise and form the beacon lights of this awakening. The weaker the *chiti* and the greater the lack of *virat*, the stronger is the determination of the great national heroes. The incarnations of God like Rama and Krishna, born for the establishment of *dharma*, though human in form, possess tremendous strength for the transformation of their period. They destroy all power-mad demoniac forces running riot in the country and stand firm like eternal light-houses in the service of the nation. The remembrance of their achievements inspires us. In the *Kali-Yuga*, the same divine job has to be performed through संघशक्ति (Sangh-Shakti-organised strength). In their prayer RSS-Swayamsevaks reiterate the same idea त्वदीयाय कार्याय बद्धा कटीयम् (we have girded our loins to achieve this great task of Yours). Pandit Deendayalji, in his analysis of national problems, has concentrated on this aspect of Sangh-work. He has emphasized the duty of taking this stream of integrated nationhood to all fields of the nation's activity, not excluding politics. In a scholarly article titled 'परं वैभवं नेतुमेतत स्वराष्ट्रम्* (to take this our Nation to the highest glory), he has discussed what needs to be done for giving a real shape to the concept of a prosperous *Hindu Rashtra*, and says : "Only if we have the support of *dharma*, if we have the organised strength of all nationals and if this strength is capable of leading to victory as its goal, having a will to be victorious, then alone shall we be able to make this nation prosperous. All these three things will have to be attended to simultaneously: it will not do to single out only one of them for concentration; for these three things are not only inseparabie but also complementary-even identical-and you cannot think of one without the other. For the attainment of the highest glory successful efforts are needed, which in turn depend on organised strength. No stable organisation can be raised without the base of *dharma*. Conversely, *dharma* expresses itself only when it has the backing of efficient machinery of organised strength. Only such people can be organised as have a natural affinity and have with the society a relationship same as parts have to the whole, and stand united with a common home." It is obvious that while writing this, Deendayalji had in view only the prosperity of the *Hindu Rashtra* and the organisation of the *Hindu* Society towards that end. Deendayalji spent all his talent and effort to explain to the nation that in India this only can form the direction of faultless nationalist thinking. Out of his perception of the true nature of *Bharat*iya nationalism, his words have acquired depth and reality.

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Unity in Diversity

While trying to perceive the basic nature of our *Hindu Rashtra* and the ever unmitigated joy of this realisation, we have to understand another unique characteristic of our national life. Even those leaders who for their political interests, shy away from openly recognising this as *Hindu Rashtra* have time and again praised this characteristic and have stressed the need of preserving it for the emergence of a harmonious and happy national life. It is true that while elucidating this characteristic they use language which would serve their political power-game and speak of Hindus and Muslims as different religious communities. But there seem to be no two opinions about the fact that India has manifested a great quality in life which the whole world should emulate. This most fascinating feature is this nation's historic capacity to experience unity in diversity. This quality comes to mind at the very mention of the word *Hindu* or *Bharatiya*. It is as if the Creator, while creating *Bharat* and the *Hindu* society, has formulated a permanently available model of the great truth of unity in diversity. Several persons applying foreign yardsticks to *Bharat* would wonder how a country having such an immense diversity apparent in the life of people here and also the variety provided by Nature could be called one Nation. Right from the earliest times, providence seems to have endowed this country with a marvellous natural variety in its wide expanse from the Himalayas to Kanyakumari and from one ocean to another. It represents all the peculiarities present in the world. Whether the flora and fauna of this country or its geographical contours, one is amazed at the variety seen here. The maximum annual rainfall, extreme heat, bitter cold, mountain peaks piercing the sky, extensive plains, dense forests, tall cliffs and deep valleys, endless deserts and heaths, ...all find place here. The same is true of ways of living. Food habits also show a varied pattern. In some places the staple food is rice, in others it is wheat or *nachni;* in some, people eat fish; in others mere vegetables. There is variety in dress to suit the differences in climate. In the South people wear nothing except loin-cloth; whereas in Kashmir they cannot suffer to remove any of their many woolen clothes. Differences of languages, dialects, colour of the skin form a legion. Anybody who wants to describe this variety will have to write volumes on the subject. Such books have in fact been written, but the variety transcends all these. No one ever thought of destroying this variety from the ancient times till today. No one in India ever tried to thrust a sort of uniformity on the people here in place of the existing diversity. On the contrary, sages and saints, great men and innumerable messengers of culture made a heaven-directed effort to strengthen the silken thread of inner unity in spite of apparent variety. It is as if Almighty God had meant this as a laboratory to show to the world the great truth of the principle of unity in diversity and the seers and philosophers here had successfully carried out the experiment.

Conflict Continues

A majority of foreigners like Shakas and Huns who came here were so completely assimilated in this sacred stream of unity that their separate existence is now nowhere felt. The only exception was in the case of the Christian and Muslim aggressors during the last ten or twelve centuries. The country's assimilative strength had weakened and internal disintegration had rendered the country feeble. Besides, Islam and Christianity are schools of thought which care little for natural variety in human life. They tend towards uniformity. They insist on the dogma of one prophet, one scripture and a single way of worship. While the Christians aspire to convert the whole world to Christianity, the followers of the prophet Mohammed insist that there is no hope for the world unless it all embraces Islam and comes under Islamic rule. As a result, both religions strongly believe in converting people, professing other faiths to their fold. Wherever followers of these two religions went, they did their best to convert people by all means, even foul. And this campaign still goes on. These two forces-*Bharat*, which believed in unity in diversity, and this pair of intolerant foreign sects, which are allergic to any diversity in methods of worship, had their first encounter in India. The blow to India was exceptionally brutal, destructive and knavish. And the *Hindu* society was unfortunately disorganised, devoid of the feeling of strong national unity. It was unacquainted to the use of forced conversion and imposition of a mode of worship. In the past, Hindus were altogether free to follow their own modes of worship. The communal frenzy and persecution let loose by fanatic and despotic aggressor rulers for centuries was a period of great conflict, but ultimately the Hindus succeeded in overthrowing Muslim domination. The incursion of the British, however, prevented the Hindus from getting enough time to destroy Muslim fanatism and the Hindus had to fight simultaneously with the Muslims and the Christian incursors. This conflict for honourable survival went on through various stages but in spite of attainment of political freedom, the Hindus have still to put up a hard struggle for a self-respectful life. The conflict has not yet ended.

The historical truth remains that in spite of all the diversity, India is still one nation. It is *Hindu Rashtra*. The whole country must dispel the unfounded narrowness and separatism and experience the life-giving inherent unity. While putting forth this point of view and reasserting the inherent inner unity, Pandit Deendayalji has said, "As a nation we are spread over an extensive area of land with wide, natural variety, which adds to its charm because it is like a garland of multicoloured flowers. Our unity in diversity is expressed through the medium of spiritual attitude to life. This unity and co-ordination can be established only among homogeneous cultures, not among the contrary ones. A preparation of various cereals and pulses mixed together can be prepared: but if sand particles find their way into it, the whole food is spoilt. If you develop boils on your body, they have to be operated upon; there can be no adjustment or compromise with them, because they lead only to further disease. The same principle applies to the life of the nation. We can have variety in languages, in ways of worship, in dress and food habits and yet we can synthesize them all. If we have uncompromising devotion to our Motherland, if our hearts throb with similar ideals and values of life, unity and coordination is not at all difficult to establish. In the absence of devotion to the motherland all these differences will lead to disintegration.

(राष्ट्र-जीवन की दिशा : pp. 73-74)

Disintegration Due To Self-Oblivion

History records Shrimat Adya Shankaracharya's efforts to reawaken the feeling of national unity through co-ordination and mutual understanding. Not only Shankaracharya but also all our saints and heroes taught us to love this entire motherland with all its variety. The four centres (*dhamas*) established by Shankaracharya are in four remote corners of the country and those who undertake the pilgrimage of these holy places cannot but visualise the whole *Bharat* as one entity. A number of events in our ancient and modern history and the lives of our great heroes impress upon us the principle of unity in diversity practiced in our country. Rama's life in the Ramayana makes us conscious of the oneness of the cultural empire from Ayodhya to Lanka, while Krishna's life impresses upon us the cultural unity from Dwarika to Kamarup.

For thousands of years, innumerable saints and sages have travelled all over our land experiencing the unity in diversity here. Namdev, Samartha Ramdas, Vivekanand, Shri Guruji are some of the random examples in the last seven or eight hundred years. None of them felt that any part of the motherland was alien. There is, again, a flexibility about this effort towards coordination. Gautama is easily welcome in our *Avatara* tradition, and in the *Panchayatana* (five deities) we can choose for ourselves that deity which we would call the foremost. Philosopher Charwak who wrote: यावत् जीवेत् सुखं जीवेत् (so long as we live, we should enjoy ourselves) and refused to accept any of the prevalent laws of morality when he said : ऋणं कृत्वा घृतं पिबेत् (we may cosume ghee i.e. enjoy the choicest of dishes, even if it involves incurring debt) can be respected as the supreme exponent of a school of philosophy. It is a different thing that the nation did not accept Charwak's philosophy as the path of real happiness and that it did not stand the test of practical experience. If all things in the world followed a uniform pattern, this world created by God would have proved a tiresome and disgusting place to live in. So we accept variety, enjoy it, respect it and yet all the while be aware of the underlying unity. We have followed this pattern of national life in every field. This is the characteristic personality of all of us Hindus as a community. Here, this principle of unity in diversity forms the basis of our natural affinity and sense of equality. In the material world complete equality is impossible. There are various kinds of gold ornaments: some to be worn on the arm, some round the neck, some on the wrists, and some on the ankles. Their sizes and shapes are different, the artistry is different, yet once they are divested of external name and form, what remains is gold and gold alone. This philosophy is completely imbibed in the *Hindu* way of life, and it can not be separated from the *Hindu* character. To awaken to this truth, to experience unity in diversity is looked upon as the highest and most developed state in life. The importance of Panditji's statement, "The spiritual view of life is the secret of coordination", can thus be appreciated. The Vedanta philosophy, which has earned for India high prestige and respect in the whole world, which enabled Swami Vivekanand to win world-wide applause and which is interpreted to thousands of people in the foreign countries every day by many saints, is the *Advaita* philosophy. Even though external things like names, shapes and sizes are different, the inner spirit is the same. Indeed *Bharat* stands in the whole world as an exponent of the philosophy that the Universe is a multicoloured, multishaped, varied and visible manifestation of one vibrant spirit. This is the very essence of its distinct identity. To put this into practice is the purpose of its life and its *dharma*: all its well being rests in the practice of this *dharma*.

Since this is so, one must say that those who under the pretext of some superficial difference, refuse to accept India's inner unity or due to their self-interest, indulge in conflicts are suffering from self-oblivion. Followers of the communist way of thinking argue that various linguistic constituents of India form different nationalities and that India is a federation of such constituents. They are really striking at the root of Indian philosophy and the Indian way of life. Any *Hindu* spontaneously poses the question: 'If the language is different, what does it matter ?' Why should he be considered alien because of that ? Let him speak a different language. That language also contributes to the glory of the nation. Malayalam, Kannada, Telugu, Tamil are all languages of Hindus; all are branches of the same gigantic cultural Banyan tree. Is difference of language a cultural difference ? Is *Bharat* a hotch-potch of two dozen unrelated, heterogeneous cultures ? Look to the man's sentiments expressed through his language. Have the saints in the South written or preached any thing different from those who wrote in Hindi, Marathi and Gujarati ? Aren't the Ramayana and Mahabharat stories recurrent in the Southern languages as well ? Isn't the same spiritual thought of the entire nation expressed in those languages also ? Have not the same ideals of life been upheld by every language? Why should anyone ever think of getting rid of all these languages and imposing one common language on all ? It is but natural for the *Hindu* mind to react thus; for it is a living experience of unity in diversity. If ever the attempt to ignore this internal unity and to propagate the distorted notion that there are varied provincial or linguistic cultures was made at all, it was by foreigners and by those whose minds have been nursed on foreign thoughts.

Significant Ancient Traits

In our Vedic literature we see the development of the *Hindu Rashtra* concept reflected in the *Atharva Veda*. It clearly shows that the development of the national feeling in India is a well-thought-out process. We often hear it said nowadays that India has a pluralistic society; and some leaders proclaim that it is this that creates political problems. Is this pluralistic form of *Hindu* society a recent growth ? No. A quotation from the *Atharva Veda* is enough to prove that it is not so. It says:

जनं बिभ्रती बहुधा विवाचसं
ननाधर्माणं पृथिवी यथौकसम्।
सहस्त्र्धारा द्रविणस्य मे दुहां
ध्रुवेव धेनुरनपस्फुरन्ती॥

Ath. 12.1.45

(May our Motherland who protects us, speakers of various languages and possessing various qualities, living like one family under one roof, shower upon us thousands of streams of wealth-like a cow who yields unrestricted flow of milk.) This pluralistic nature of our society is not a new thing. It is by assimilating all the different factors that this integrated society grew. Yet now harmful policies are being adopted under the name of 'pluralistic society' which disrupt the very unity of our country. The Vedas mention clearly the progressive development from the family as an institution, the sacrificial committee (आहवनोय संस्था), members of the national council, the board of conveners and a council of ministers as a graded pattern. It is after this that the various administrative institutions came into existence. There is no insistence that all people must be bound down by a uniform system. Different times and different regions adopted different types of administration. There is no rigidity about them. In Mantras like the *Mantra-Pushpanjali*, we find a reference to about ten or twelve different types of administration. The common principle behind them is that the administrative activity should be conducive to national progress and should be adapted to the nature, needs and conditions of the region. The same principle also applies to the solid internal unity in the variety of *Hindu* national life. It is significant that these Vedic forms of government and their constitutions were not formulated by the political leadership in the ever changing political flux. In the case of our present Constitution, on the other hand, we see that even though its initiators and pioneers were apparently a body of people's representatives, they were in reality members of a political party who had consented to the partition of their motherland for the opportunity of directly wielding political power. Another important point is that they did not have the necessary originality and independent intellect. They were not unattached, selfless, and purely interested in public welfare. They have borrowed profusely from the modes and patterns established by the British in India and Great Britain and also the systems followed in countries like America. We will discuss this aspect in greater detail later. The point at issue is that those of our predecessors who experimented boldly on different governmental systems conducive to our natural characteristics, in the apparently 'pluralistic' society exhibiting unity in diversity did not imitate others and were not goaded to action by any selfish interests whatsoever. We read about the *Rishis* who had attained the state of self-realisation and who gave strength and life-giving inspiration to the nation by their penance. We find references like, "The people had become weak, disorganised and were immature when Vasishtha assumed leadership and transformed the same people by making them high-spirited and prosperous." Kingship was just one of the several political systems we adopted in *Bharat*. It was not the only system, and even within this framework there were ample provisions to see that the king would not become an all-powerful dictator. It is sheer falsehood spread by the British that in ancient India we had nothing but despotic dictatorial kingly rule. The fact is that despotic and tyrannical rule originated here after the Muslim aggression. Never did any of the various administrative systems in India neglect the nation's cultural and geographical unity.

Misleading terms like 'Separate Goan Culture', 'Special Tamil culture', 'Independent Kashmir or Naga culture', and the consequent feeling that it is the responsibility of the government to maintain the distinctiveness of each of them are in no way conducive to national unity. But political leaders do use such language. Pandit Jawaharlal

Nehru, our first Prime Minister, made unlimited use of this sort of jargon. He was responsible for Goa being kept as a tiny separate State. The intricate problem of Kashmir is a result of the wrong logic he adopted. He altogether lost sight of the great truth that the same cultural stream flows through the entire country, and though it is not averse to variety, the variety is only superficial and the goal and destination of all of us is one and the same. Disintegrating forces conspired and developed extensively with political vested interests. The same misunderstanding is obvious in the case of *dharma* and religious sects. The Sikh, Jain and Bouddha forms of worship were through-out given the name of separate *dharmas* by the government, political leaders and newspapers. One of the most laudable characteristics of our national life is that various religions or sects come within the gamut of *Hindu dharma* and though the destination is the same, in *Hindu* philosophy there can be different paths to reach it. This is the basis of the principle of unity in diversity. In his historic speech in the Conference of Religions in Chicago in the year 1893, Swami Vivekanand quoted the well-known lines from *Shiva Mahimna Stotra* and showed the path of the unity of man.

रुचीनां वैचित्र्याद् ऋजुकुटिलनानापथजुषाम्।
नृणामेका गम्यस्त्वमसि पयसामर्णव इव।।

(Oh God, You are the one ultimate goal of all human beings following straight, curved and other kinds of paths according to their tastes, just as different streams ultimately travel towards the ocean.) *Hindu* national life is a living model of this. It is strange that even some of the distinguished men and women use a divisive terminology like 'Hindus and Sikhs', 'Hindus and Harijans', 'upper castes and Dalits', 'religious majority and minority'. This kind of language divides single whole society into compartments. This is really the utter humiliation of a nation, a travesty of the deep feeling of unity in the multicoloured splendour of diversity. There is no *Hindu* religion in the sense of a sect or form of worship. This nation perceived the living truth of unity in diversity. This imparted a total view of life. On the basis of this view a way of life emerged here. A cultural stream was nourished here. Some values of life were established. Our *Hindu Rashtra*, in fact, adheres to this experience, this view of life, culture, way of life and values of life. This is the *Hindu* stream of life. It has been ceaselessly flowing from the ancient times, assimilating different currents and yet retaining its most lovable characteristics. We must strain every nerve to preserve this principle of unity in diversity which is universally beneficial.

Harmony with *Hindu* Philosophy

Panditji has very clearly stated his views on this subject. He says, in one of his articles, "If we aspire for unity, we must really understand *Bharatiya* Nationalism which is *Hindu* Nationalism, and *Bharatiya* Culture which is *Hindu* culture. Let all streams join in the sacred stream of Bhageerathi. Yamuna will merge into the Ganga and lose all its darkness becoming one with the clear waters of the Ganga. But, for that, we must emulate the tenacity of Bhageeratha in our efforts. Accepting the principle expressed in एकं सत् विप्रा बहुधा वदन्ति (though one, wise men describe Truth in various forms), we have experienced the unity of our nation and culture which has lasted for a period much longer than that of its failure during the last one thousand years. And so we need not lose courage. If our old soldiers who have fought longer are exhausted, new ones with fresh vigour will replace them. The tired ones may frankly admit their fatigue, the weakness of their weapons, but for them to say that victory is impossible is not right. To say so is against our ethos and dignity and contrary to our national character and tradition." What greater candidness than this can one expect from an active, persevering and truth-seeking thinker? What is to be borne in mind is that ultimately truth is one and wise men treat the diversity in the world as varied manifestations of the same truth. This is the basic tenet of the *Hindu* philosophy. Panditji resorts to it in order to express the secret of our national life. The reach of this philosophy is extensive and the direction it gives to our entire life nourishes qualities like love, affinity, co-operation and harmony. Equality and fraternity assume convincing and practical meaning only if they are interpreted in the light of this philosophy. The principle which leads to the realisation of the intrinsic equality of all men (individuals), can be found only in the philosophy developed by the Hindus. The answers to questions like why should two men treat each other like brothers and love each other are to be found in this philosophy. The principle of unity in diversity means this recognition of the inner oneness of all life. The absence of this approach in materialistic thinking leads to the horrible competition there. They talk in terms like 'survival of the fittest', 'the big fish devours the small one' and 'constant conflict every where'. The principle in *Hindu* philosophy is survival of all. Why should I be pained when I see my fellow men suffering, and be happy in their happiness ? This question finds a direct and unequivocal answer in *Hindu* philosophical thought.

Hindu philosophy has taught us that even though the body forms are different and there is a difference in the colour of the skin, dress and food-habits, there is an innate spiritual oneness in individuals. No other external difference-economic, social, political, geographical, can affect this ultimate truth. In the writings of Jnyaneshwar, this basic spiritual truth has been explained very convincingly to Arjuna through Shri Krishna's words:

यांची नामेही आनाने । अनारिसी वर्तने।
वेषही सिनाने । आघवेयांचे।। 1058।।
हे भूतग्राम विषम । परी वस्तू ते एथ सम।
घटमठी व्योम । जियापरी।। 1064।।
हा नाशता भूताभासु । एध आत्मा तो अविनाशु।
जैसा केयूरादिकी कसु । सुवर्णाचा।। 1065।।

-Jnyaneshwari (Chap. 13)

(They have all different names, different behaviour and different dresses; the whole creation is full of external dissimilarities. But intrinsically it is the manifestation of one and the same spirit just as the space is the same in a pitcher and in a temple. When the apparent illusory form is destroyed, the soul remains eternal, just as the quality of gold remains the same in all gold ornaments). Thus unity in diversity is the most distinctive characteristic of the national life of *Bharat*. Shri Guruji, former Chief of the RSS, used to say that now-a-days there is an irresistible tendency to make capital of diversity, and on that basis indulge in narrow selfish interests. The principle of unity is left out of consideration. Only if we lay proper emphasis on unity and strengthen it, the confusion created by ignorance about the real meaning of diversity will be eradicated and national life will flow smoothly. It is necessary to realise this inner spiritual oneness of all God's creation and plan all our social structure accordingly. In his last speech guiding the RSS workers in a camp at Thane, Shri Guruji had given the same message. He suggested that workers working in different fields of national life, while developing suitable systems in their own field, should stick to the basic thought of unity treating apparent differences as subordinate and less important. "Those who cannot understand this unity and think of cutting to size various limbs in order to bring about artificial uniformity can never succeed,"- this he had said with rare prophetic foresight. Why do the Christian nations fight among themselves when the mode of worship they follow is similar, and their way of life and dress-habits are all the same? Why is there constant bloodshed among Muslim countries? Even if they strive for uniformity, it must be admitted that unity which binds human beings together by bonds of affinity eludes them.

Connivance for Political Gain

The conflicts India had to enter into were never for imposing uniformity of methods of worship or for eradicating superficial differences. India fought to repel the aggressions of those who tried to trample upon the *Hindu* principle of unity in diversity. Because of this principle one man works for another's happiness. He feels that, like himself, other persons are also manifestations of the same Reality and with this feeling of oneness, of close affinity he works for their good. No other philosophical school in the world seems to have this strength of sublimating man, developing his inner spirit of oneness in diversity. This grand thought is an inseparable factor of our national existence. The defects in the *Hindu* society and *Hindu* national life can be removed only by intensifying this realization. Some people have expressed the view that *Hindusthan* was never one nation and the feeling of our common nationhood emerged only after the entire country was brought under the British rule. Some political leaders have called it 'a nation in the making'. People who use such language emphasise the idea only of political unity. They take it for granted that a nation is a political entity. They view *Bharat* only as a Nation State. They forget that here we have a nation based on one culture, and the idea of nationhood based on mere political unity is not at all applicable here. The foundation of our nationhood is *Hindu Chiti*, *Hindu* culture and *Hindu* value-system; and only if we keep this foundation firm, does Bharat's national unity assume a definite content. For the expediency of politics, they connive at this reality. As a matter of fact Lokmanya Tilak and even some foreign thinkers and statesmen have accepted this fact. For example, Lokmanya Tilak says, "Three or four different religions are popular in India. But to conclude from this that Hinduism is not national is wrong. It is the bond of *Hindutva* that binds the large *Hindu* masses together. If you break this bond or allow it to grow weak by neglecting it, the *Hindu* populace will be scattered and disintegrated like grains of sand. It is sheer illusion to feel that by repudiating *Hindutva* we will attain better results from the nationalist point of view. To strengthen this bond of *Hindutva* which has bound people together is more convenient, practicable and necessary. In short, any social reform should be initiated fully keeping in mind this nationalist policy." Lokmanya's argument makes it absolutely clear that he laid great emphasis on the *Hindu* view of life and the *Hindu* way of life. The statement of Dr. Annie Besant is well-known: "India alone can save India and India and Hinduism are one." Justice Woodroff, while describing the people's strong reaction to the British efforts for Westernisation, of India, called it 'Nationalism turned defiantly *Hindu*'.

All these thinkers, when they used the terms *Hindutva*, *Hindu dharma*, *Hindu Sanskriti*, certainly gave priority to the *Hindu* thought which digests diversity and assimilates it into the inherent unity.

They are unanimous about the fact that external material changes do not affect this unity. The deep rooted spiritualism in the vast Indian soil, adorned with variety, teaches us the thought मया ततमिदं सर्व जगदव्यक्तमूर्तिना (This whole world has been permeated by me who am in reality formless). This has been accepted by all of them. This thought and the value-system connected with it have been developed by the same cultural stream which alone is the basis of our national unity. The *Hindu* society has nourished this culture and resisted the aggressions, and even today the existence of the nation depends on the *Hindu* society. This is the *Hindu* nationalist thought. So, when we talk of *Hindu Rashtra*, we do not think of the various sects or modes of worship, dress habits, food habits, political parties, poverty or riches, particular professions or occupations, castes etc., but we think primarily of the integral cultural stream which embraces the entire country. This is the main spring of the strength of *Hindu* society. Those who advise this unity to be set aside and who insist that the nation would be strong if we develop external uniformity like the Christians, Muslims or Communists will only cause the nation's great cultural stream to dry up and destroy the nationalism in this country. These alien thought systems have not succeeded so far in influencing the minds of the common Indian people whose faith is altogether undisturbed. They are not at all prepared to become 'economic animals' or to be branded as followers of any one prophet or a single sectarian book.

Spiritual Starvation

No one will ever call our first Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru an advocate of *Hindutva.* All his life he dubbed every attempt to awaken the *Hindu* consciousness as communal. Of all the leading Congressmen, he was the most strongly attracted towards socialism right from his youthful days; and it was mainly he who was most responsible for the travesty of secularism. He tried to create the glamour of material prosperity on the lines of the Western countries and holding that as the main target, he tried to execute the five year plans. But even a man like him, when he thought rather quietly and deeply, was affected by the thought that we must retain our distinctive characertistic on the basis of *Hindu* spiritual thought. The deep impact of our national culture which he had kept suppressed came to the surface of his mind. In 1957, Dr. Sampoornanand arranged a prolonged discussion in Pandit Nehru's presence in Delhi. Noted scholars discussed thread-bare the question of the direction of our entire national policy. Pandit Nehru himself prepared a summary of the conclusions arrived at the end of the discussion, in which he said, "In our craze for material development, we have completely neglected the spiritual aspect of our life. Human life has a purpose, an ultimate goal. We need to revive a philosophy of life with its spiritual base for which a man should be prepared to live and to lay down his life if necessary. We speak of a Welfare State and advocate socialism and democracy, yet we do not have a clear and unequivocal definition of either. Democracy and socialism are merely means, not the end. While thinking of our economic problems, the goal of life-as has been laid down in Vedanta on the foundation of which the entire creation rests-must be ever present before us."

But in actual practice, Pandit Nehru did not make any plan for the 'total man', keeping this goal before him. Even after his death the planning remained entirely economic and the content of socialism became still hazier. The fabric of life was woven round अर्थ and काम (Artha and Kama); economic power and lust for environment became so dominating that the qualitative base or development has almost been shattered. Public life has lost direction and material wealth has become the sole measuring rod of national progress. It is mainly our leaders who are causing the utter spiritual starvation of India. When we see how a most vital field like education has been dismally mismanaged, we get a revealing picture of how the neglect of our national *chiti* and culture can bring about the country's degeneration. By their failure in their duty to organise life according to the national objectives, the leaders of our society are weakening our motivation for hard work and making it devoid of direction. Alien *chitis* and cultures are making a three-fold attack on us - physical, mental and intellectual.

The emergence of a protective collective force - *virat* - has become more and more difficult. Instead of the pleasant experience of unity in diversity, we see the ghastly sight of disintegration through diversity. The dangerous situation in the North-East, the blood spilling activities of the advocates of 'Khalistan' in Punjab, slogans of 'Dalitsthan' and many other separate homelands and the cynicism and despair in public life due to frustration are an unchallengeable proof of the fact that the living spirit of unity in diversity does not pervade the limbs of the body politic. We have given a lot of superficial thought to various infrastructures, but we did not pay any attention to the very purpose for which the structures are built. We formed various linguistic States to respect the element of diversity but our failure to emphasise simultaneously the element of unity led to extremist chauvinism, internal conflicts, poison of narrow provincialism and parochial interests becoming rampant everywhere. We are getting a painful rebuff everywhere, but we do not yet seem to have the good sense to turn to our ideal, inspiring fountain-head.

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This Entire World is my Home

The intrinsic worth of the national philosophy, which Panditji placed before the nation after the partitioned India attained independence, lies in its pure *Hindu* character. The very name '*Hindu Rashtra*' means a nation which has accepted the ideals of human life which have matured in the long period of its existence and the consequent way of life it signifies. Those who are not well-acquainted with this ideal are bewildered as soon as the term *Hindu Rashtra* is used and think that this term suggests parochial patriotism. They express a sharp reaction that this is something obscurantist and outdated. Some others conveniently advise the rejection of the word *Hindu* and acceptance of the terms *Bharat* and *Bharati*ya instead. Some others argue that calling ourselves Hindus and the nation *Hindu Rashtra* smacks of resistance to the wider humanism. Some others vehemently hurl the objection that while the modern scientific progress is on the way to bring the whole world closer and make it one, we dogmatically try to stick to the old-fashioned tunes of *Hindu Rashtra*. There is no reason to believe that these persons are genuinely inspired by a love of human unity. Most of them are oblivious not only of human unity but also of their calamity-stricken neighbours. They are incessantly wallowing in some petty selfish ends. Their thought and activity are both limited to caste, sect, province or family. It must be pointed out whether we use the word Indian or *Bharati*ya, they restrict themselves to narrow regional limits and shun any wider or more inclusive approach. Thinkers like Panditji have helped such people to get a glimpse of the universal *Hindu* thought which keeps before itself the process of man's spiritual growth from a tiny individual to his identification with the universe. They have produced proofs to show to them the fact that instead of being narrow the *Hindu Rashtra* concept inspires us to identify ourselves with the whole humanity, the animate and inanimate world, and indeed with the entire universe with innumerable worlds. They have explained how, as compared to other so-called modern nations, the *Hindu Rashtra* ideology is contributory to the well-being of the whole world. Such discussions are found to be very necessary in the intellectual field today because of a difficulty we experience while communicating with the so-called thinkers in the *Hindu* Society today. These thinkers seem to presume that the patterns of the formation and development of India and those of other nations are on par and hold that the process of change here and elsewhere must be parallel. They do not at all take into account the difference between them, consequent to *Hindu* antiquity and the innate *Hindu* character.

The so-called 'developed' countries in the West are hardly more than four or five hundred years old. Within this short period they had a series of wars among themselves. In many of them, there were internal conflicts for people's rights. They went through many political revolutions, an industrial revolution and now the world is passing through a technological revolution. Even small nations like England, France and Portugal tried to establish empires in foreign lands. They turned local people into slaves, exploited them economically and made diabolical attempts to impose their own language, religion and culture on the natives with a view to perpetuate their own power. They distorted their history. They had an imperialistic gusto-'Rule Britannia', 'Britannia rules over the waves'. They had a superiority complex. We read all this in history. *Bharat* also was a prosperous land till about fifteen hundred years ago. *Hindu* kings ruled over many prosperous kingdoms in South-East Asia. India conducted international trade. In still earlier times, the Hindus had spread all over the world, where the relics of their existence are still seen. Yet, Hindus never forced the people they defeated into slavery, they did not look down upon them, they did not indulge in inhuman exploitations, they did not exhibit colonialist tendencies, and they did not spill others blood for their selfish purposes. Wherever they went, they carried with them the knowledge useful for human welfare. They helped people there understand what sublime life is. *Hindu* Rishis, saints and Sannyasis were carriers of noble ideals of life. Their cultural ideal was कृणवन्तो विश्वमार्यम् (We will make the whole world qualitatively of a high order). It was not in them to carry the sword in one hand and their sacred book in the other to achieve this.

This kind of cultural 'dissemination requires a perennial source of strength at the centre. But in course of time *Bharati*ya centre became weaker and consequently, the cultural mission of *Bharat* was contracted. When the continuation of *Hindu* legacy was threatened in *Bharat* itself, Hindus had to take cover under a protective shell like a tortoise. Hinduism went on the defensive and desperately fought a sustained battle for self-preservation for a thousand years. It was probably during this period of conflict that they developed many conventions and customs for self-preservation, which now have become shackles obstructing our progress. Some thinkers are of opinion that the taboo on sea voyages abroad may have been deliberately adopted at this time because there was every likelihood of a *Hindu* going to foreign lands being left without any support and lost permanently to the community here. Due to savage and cunning blows during this period the *Hindu* society was in jitters and many evils entered its body politic. There never was any breathing period in which to stem the rot, so much so that these distorted practices came to be looked upon as *Hindutva*. Our material life also became miserable. Even in these worst of times, our land continued to produce a chain of great national heroes, saints and seers who did not allow the flag of cultural idealism to lie low. The branches of the proud cultural banyan tree were being cut off; yet the brutal attempts to completely uproot it did not succeed because the roots had gone deep. The *Hindu* society proudly announcing its direct relation with the ancient *Sanatana Dharma* still exists here as the majority community. This nation belongs to it. If this society were to organise itself again and become strong and powerful, can it ever bring calamity to the world like the Western imperialists ? Would its nationalism create unrest in the world ? In this respect, to treat *Hindu* nationalism on par with the arrogant and intolerant nationalism of some Western nations is to show utter ignorance of the fact that whatever is *Hindu* is motivated by the single desire of human happiness alone.

The Shadow of Fear

Experience has now proved beyond doubt that none of the so-called modern and progressive schools of thought can guarantee welfare, happiness and peace to the human race. It has also been conclusively proved that the constituent called 'nation' of the human society of the world will permanently exist and cannot be destroyed. The communists described the 'nation' and 'nationalism' as unnecessary and undesirable and tried to divide the world into capitalists and workers as conflicting classes. Marx strongly advocated the unity of workers of the world and dictatorship of the proletariat, but actually nationalism completely defeated Marx. In practice, the idea of eradicating the capitalist class and evolving a classless and Stateless society did not take root at all. Similarly, what happiness could Western nationalist thought give to the world? On the contrary, the world is suffering from a terrible fear-psychosis today. The super powers in the world have been running a mad race for nuclear weapons and no one has the slightest doubt that the sparking off of a conflict among them will bring the whole civilised world to utter destruction. Modern research has grown extremely potent; its technique is remarkably advanced; but who can determine the goals of this research? And on what basis? Scientists themselves are now opposing the idea of leaving the decision to scientists and technocrats. If the researchers are not deeply committed to human good, much of modern scientific development is likely, like *Bhasmasura*, to destroy the entire human race itself. The spirit of cut-throat competition has entered in international scientific research. A craze to create a new world along with a new race of laboratory-born human beings has gripped the scientists. Unlimited means of luxury and enjoyment are ceaselessly whetting the appetites of consumerist societies which ask for more and more indulgence. Man is becoming more and more a slave of machines, and machines and means of satisfying lust are polluting the whole environment. Man is afraid of pollution as much as he is of nuclear weapons. With craving for the pleasure of consumption, mineral oil and metal treasures are being exploited at a blinding speed. On every front we have conflicts. Conflicts among nations, conflict with earth, conflict with nature, conflicts between haves and have nots, conflicts among members of the family - human life has increasingly become full of tensions and strains. The UNO was founded after World War II to perpetuate international peace, but it has been divided into factions. Powerful nations are at logger-heads with each other. So strong is their desire to use the UNO for their own selfish interests that there is no longer any hope of the UNO succeeding in its original objective. One estimate puts the figure of the men killed in the limited localised wars in various parts of the world after World War II as far in excess of the number of victims of the War II itself. A vast majority of the lakhs of expert scientists and researchers working in the laboratories in advanced countries in different parts of the world are using their intelligence research for weapons which will annihilate the largest number of people in the shortest time. Nothing else can be expected from minds trained in schools of thought which equate human life with conflicts of various forms.

The Crux of *Hindu Rashtra*

In short, it is sheer distortion of facts to include India among the various nations which look to the world as a permanent battlefield full of eternal conflicts and impose the same motives on the advocates of *Hindu Rashtra*. Why do we want a *Hindu Rashtra* ? or, an organised and strong *Hindu* society ? Will *Hindu Rashtra* as a nation not become an intolerant and aggressive force ? Why not become humanists instead ? There are many learned men who pose such questions. All their objections will melt away like thin air if they just acquaint themselves with the pure value-system of *Hindu Rashtra*. As has been stated earlier, all *Hindu* thoughts are directed towards the attainment of the highest form of Bliss. This Bliss cannot be derived from external, bodily pleasures, but in self-realization alone. This is a firm *Hindu* conviction. For this, it is necessary to make our entire life God-oriented. This experience is not possible unless we imbibe divine qualities and cleanse all impurities of mind. So the message of *Hindu Rishis* is that we must make a persistent effort to imbibe these divine qualities. Since the Hindus believe that the entire animate and inanimate creation is His manifestation, they can never accept the insolent language of 'conquest of Nature'. A *Hindu* lays emphasis on the complementariness and harmony between man and nature. He would try to understand the wonderful complementariness and mutual co-operation in God's creation. The *Hindu* view of life being that of harmony and progress through co-operation instead of conflict in the world, the Hindus can never work up a situation in which there is a perpetual conflict between nations. Every nation may have its own characteristic features, and their purposes of life can be different. The Hindus will never accept that these differing characteristics must be wiped out. Every nation is a constituent of a larger entity viz. the human race, and on this basis, the spirit of mutual co-operation and coordination must govern international relations. Instead of destroying the variety in the universe, we must retain its beauty and make the world a place of peaceful, conflictless and happy coexistence. What else does building up the *Hindu Rashtra* really mean? Only this, that it must rejuvenate the nation with all its characteristic qualities. To collect certain things from here and there, patch them together and give them the name of a nation is illogical. No progress can be made in this manner: happiness is a far cry. What is life without progress and happiness ?

It is therefore necessary to properly understand the process of development in harmony with the entire universe, as it is visualised by *Hindu* thinking and way of life. This process involves a number of steps which widen man's vision and elevate him to a progressively higher level without disturbing the harmony in his life. Each one of us is primarily an individual. We cannot deny the existence of an independent individual. Each individual attains happiness if he is allowed to develop to the fullest extent according to his aptitudes. There is no uniform pattern for individual development. The grasping power of people is not identical and human beings are at different levels of development. Each one should be free to develop in a manner suitable to his mental, intellectual and physical potential and everyone must be raised to a higher stage of development in this process. As saint Tukaram says, ' अधिकार तैसा करू उपदेश* (we must adapt our preaching to every man's capacity). We know that we have to describe God to a person in a way in which he can understand it. Both the well-known forms in which God is worshipped lead to the same destination: *Saguna* (in the deity form) and *Nirguna* (formless). So, according to *Hindu* thought, it is contrary to all logic to thrust any particular way of worship on anyone. On the other hand, the tradition here is to respect other people's method of worship, while resorting to our own way as per our own liking. Intolerance about ways of worship never existed and even today does not exist in the nature of our society; because, we have always appreciated that individuals will always have their characteristic differences. Our philosophy of life teaches us that externally forced uniformity does not give happiness or joy or bring about natural development.

The development of 'I' into 'We' is an inward evolution. The individual 'I' has to move among people around. In childhood he has his parents, brothers, sisters and other close relatives around him. When he goes to school he comes into contact with friends and neighbours' children. He is happy if their wave-lengths agree with his. This harmony involves himself, his family and his friends. There is no conflict among them. This bigger circle means the inward growth of the child. In this way, every individual develops his inner consciousness to the entire society and the nation. This circle, starting from the individual, continually widens and expands to the level of the nation (Rashtra) without any break. The widened circle includes smaller circles of society, family and individual. It is this structure of life that is called अखंडमंडलाकार (concyclic) in our terminology. The main feature of this process of development is that it takes place without the thread of the earlier stage being broken. There is no sense of conflict in the nation, society, family, and individual aspects. It includes the nation, its prosperity, its glory, a strong feeling of serving the nation, sensitivity to the happiness and sorrow of others and at the same time, there is fully developing independent individual existence. An individual gladly suffers for his nation, his society, his family, because the feeling of the individual 'I' naturally and gradually develops into the feeling for 'we' the nation. He may perhaps make light of a personal insult, but national humiliation is insufferable to him.

Flight Towards Universality

However, the process of development does not stop at the stage of the nation. The nationalism which stops growing at that stage becomes intolerant and aggressive. As a result, attempts are made to impose its systems on others even if it means using brute force. This intolerant national ego goads nations to destroy the peace and happiness of others for selfish ends. This aggressive egotism, either of methods of worship or national superiority, certainly leads to conflict. To satisfy this ego, an effort is made to subjugate others and make them our satellites or slaves. The British, after they were firmly saddled in their power over India, pretended that the burden of 'civilising' the black man had fallen on their shoulders. They made the world feel that it was the mission of the British regime to modernise the ignorant, superstitious, dirty Indians trapped in the clutches of savage customs. A number of books like Miss Mayo's 'Mother India' which indulged in mud-slinging were written. The history of the Hindus was purposely distorted; and behind all this laid their policy of exploitation, self-interest, and their inflated ego. Capitalist America and Communist

Russia, no less than Islamic fundamentalists are playing the same role today.

The *Hindu* thought, on the other hand, looks upon the Nation as a stage in the process of human development. Any man can easily understand concepts like Motherland, the society inhabiting it, its culture, etc. He cannot reach the idea of universality at one stretch. Nation, to him, is a reality within his ken. If, simultaneously with that, he imbibes the spiritual reality of essential human unity, the 'I' in him develops so much as to make him strive for the welfare of the human race. Instead of subscribing to the idea that he is in conflict with human beings in other nations, he starts aspiring to make a contribution to their happiness and peace. He begins to feel that there should be harmony and co-ordination in the comity of nations. This feeling of Universal Brotherhood rests upon the concept of basic spiritual equality between an individual and the entire humanity. The *Hindu Rashtra* concept and the concept of the same spirit pervading the entire universe are really identical. As a matter of fact, our vision of development goes beyond it. In fact, it transcends the boundaries of the human race and urges us to experience our identity with the whole universe-animate and inanimate. On this level we become one with the material and the spiritual, physical and metaphysical universe. How magnificent is the concept of वसुधैव कुटुंबकम् (the whole world is a family) or स्वदेशो भुवनत्रयम् (the three worlds together are all our abode)! Some great souls have surpassed even this and have the vision of oneness of the entire universe:

हे विश्वचि माझे घर। ऐसी मती जयाची स्थिर।
किंबहुना चराचर। आपण जाहला।।

As Jnyaneshwar says: 'One who is clear in his mind that this entire universe is his home identifies himself with all the animate and inanimate.' There is a further and ultimate stage of development in the *Hindu* thought about man. It is man's unification with God-the spirit of God (the greatest soul) which pervades every single atom and molecule in the universe. Swami Ramdas wrote:

नभी वावरे जो अणूरेणु काही
रिता गव त्या राघवेवीण नाही

(Every particle that moves about in the sky is occupied by God. There is no empty space, unoccupied by Him). These words express the experience of the ultimate self-realization. Whether individual, family, society, nation, world, universe do or do not exist, God is always there everywhere and is replete with peace.

No Impact Without Strength

The word *Hindu* suggests this evolution and we can not imagine a *Hindu Rashtra* which does not recongnise this process of evolution. Indeed, the mission of *Bharat* is to give the world the knowledge of this process of evolution, to show it the proven path to be traversed, to attain it and to give the entire world the gift of happiness and peace without discrimination of any kind. If Mother Nature had not given to India the mission of preserving and yet at the same time freely imparting to the world this nectar-like knowledge, there would have been little justification in *Bharat* surviving this long period from ancient times to the present as a *Sanatana Rashtra.* No individual or nation can have any plausible reason to suspect about India that there could be any aggressive or destructive, exploitative or imperialistic, conflict-creating or divisive aspirations or strategy. Those who raise such a doubt about *Bharat* must either be ignorant about the character of this nation or have some selfish interests of their own. The *Hindu* thought is, in the true sense of the word, the thought of the welfare of the entire human race. It is called *Hindu* thought simply because our society, which is traditionally called the *Hindu* society, has preserved and perpetuated these ideas and ideals. It would be entirely erroneous and indicative of ignorance to think that the purpose behind organising this society or bringing about the prosperity of *Hindu Rashtra* could be narrow, parochial or belligerent.

But if India really wants to fulfil this mission in the best possible manner it cannot afford to forget one very important practical truth. The common experience in the international field is that weak nations imitate those nations which are materially strong and prosperous and have the ability to give aid and support to others. If, what India says is not taken seriously in the world today the reason will be found in India's weakness on the material front. India was a slave country when the Western nations made great strides in the field of science, technology and arms, and so it was being exploited by foreigners. The *Hindu* society was involved in a protracted life-and-death struggle. Naturally India was very late in beginning its effort for progress. Yet it must be said that the Indian genius has taken large strides in a short time and if talent had really got ample scope and encouragement in the post-Independence period, we could have made considerably greater progress. There never was, nor is, any doubt about India's inherent capacity in this sphere. The catch is elsewhere. Even if India develops higher technology and mechanical expertise, and the per capita income increases, yet it will not be able to fulfil its mission in the comity of nations till it stands confidently as an influential and powerful *Hindu Rashtra*. As has been said again and again, this mission is that of raising before the world a concrete, happy ideal of taking human life to perfect, harmonious, and complete development and creating in the nation a dedication and enlightened strength which has the power of restraint and benevolence, so that the world simply cannot ignore that ideal. This kind of strength simply cannot exist in an aping, disintegrated nation which is weakened by internal dissentions, gripped by inferiority complex and self-oblivion. A nation which is poverty-stricken, which seeks patronage everywhere, which has lost all confidence in itself and which has no self-respect, can never command any respect anywhere. A citizen of soul a country is neglected everywhere, however glorious that nation's past may have been, howsoever perfect its technology may be and whatever the heights attained by its individual citizens may be. Only if we stand before the world in all glory, having put into practice the ideal lessons of individual, social and national *dharma*, will the Vedic hymns of peace which we will sing before the world have some effect. Materially prosperous nations do not pay heed to mere noble thoughts or sublime philosophy. So long as our Motherland had that strength, *Hindu Sannyasis* and *Rishis* who had renounced everything moved world over, fearlessly and with dignity. They were respectfully heard. Foreign scholars visited India in large numbers to study the secret of the *Hindu* way of life and the philosophical foundation on which it stood, whoever came here went away impressed. The descriptions of the impressions and opinions of foreign travellers are on record in History books even today. As Swami Vivekanand has said, modern India should maintain a firm grip on spiritualism with one hand and with the other hand strive for all material prosperity. It should take whatever it finds beneficial from the world and discard whatever it finds useless and out-dated from the past customs and systems.

The Path of Universal Welfare

It is necessary to quote two rather extensive paragraphs from an article संगठन का आधार : राष्ट्रवाद (The Basis of Organisation : Nationalism) in which Panditji has stated his conclusions after years of deep thinking about this acquisition of strength, prosperity, *Hindu Rashtra* concept, and universal well-being. These quotations ably depict our nationalist thought and the spirit of universality behind it. He writes: "Thus, Western Nationalism has emerged not from mutual coordination between human beings, but from conflict, and so it has given birth to disgust, hatred and destruction. But it would be wrong to evaluate India's Nationalism on this basis. Indian Nationalism was not born for selfish ends. The thought of Indian Nationalism has developed not merely in the last three or four hundred years, but in the last thousands of years. Its basis is not mutual conflict - it is cooperation and coordination. India's Nationalism is entirely different from Western Nationalism in that it is not like a huge private limited company where every citizen sticks to the Company like a share-holder for his own self-interest. Even marauders can come together for their own self-interest and carry on business transactions with some code of loyalty and honesty. Pickpockets also have a kind of business ethics of their own. The motivation behind organisations which prepare and follow a certain set of rules to fulfil selfish intentions is of an entirely different type. That is not what happened in India. A comprehensive and broad-minded philosophy of life leading to all-sided human welfare manifested itself in India. This total view of life developed among the people a shared experience of collective living, on the basis of which our growth as a nation came about. The inner urge to strive for the noblest qualities of human life spread everywhere like tunes of sweet music. The response of the *Hindu* hearts was peculiar; they spontaneously felt that in all creation there is no conflict, but all things in nature are complementary and depend on each other. The same principle has manifested itself in various forms. So, one who recognises that all-pervading reality in apparent diversity is really great - he is a real Arya. He deserves to be called cultured Man. The systems and set of rules which help mould this sublime kind of person is *dharma*. Public honour and respect were bestowed not on selfishness but on sacrifice. Thinking acquired not a reactionary but a positive and constructive direction. The sacred watchword carried everywhere was of cooperation and not conflict. The virtues of forgiveness, pity, non-violence, kindness, non-stealing, celibacy reverberated everywhere. Various concepts of human fulfillment were looked upon as advancement in a definite direction and were set in a homogeneous pattern. Different sects and methods of worship were all respected. The various expressions assumed by one truth, the different names given to them and their varied methods of realizing the same ultimate Truth were considered not as merely inevitable for healthy development, but also as absolutely necessary. So the lesson learnt here was not of just tolerance but of following the principle of integration. Thus Indian Nationalism manifested itself with the longing for the perfect happiness of all beings.

"It is therefore, wrong to compare Western Nationalism with Indian Nationalism. While the West beat the drum of conflict on the basis of duality everywhere, India played the sweet tunes of unity based on monism (*Advaita*). The word Nation, therefore, has different connotations in the West and the East, just as two musical instruments like drum and flute generate extremely different sound vibrations. While thinking on the organisations of our country this difference must always be borne in mind. In the European countries, Nationalism led to destruction. To argue, therefore, that Indian Nationalism would also be destructive is wrong. The outcome of the two cannot be considered identical. While the role of Indian Nationalism was quite different, Nationalism in European countries created dangers for the human race and worked in a way detrimental to human welfare. This is not a mere slogan-mange ring. The last two thousand years of Indian history prove this truth. While the history of other countries depicts the phenomenon of oppression and destruction of the human race during the last few hundred years, India's long history of thousands of years, does not have even a single page depicting this sin of making humanity suffer. If India has anything common and characteristic throughout its history, it is its desire for the welfare of the entire universe. The relics of Indian history available in various parts of the world even today clearly indicate that India has all the while consistently striven for the good of all human beings. If, therefore, the world is to be saved from the extremely evil effects of Western Nationalism in the form of mutual conflict, hatred, and malicious competition, there is no doubt that the healthy Nationalism of India will have to stand in a well organised, firm and efficient manner. That is the only way to universal peace and welfare."

One need not claim that Pandit Deendayalji alone thought on these lines. All those who have sought to get some knowledge of the National life and *Hindu* philosophy have come to the same conclusion. But they do not frankly admit that this *Hindu* tradition is really our national tradition. The roots of all those ideas which India advocated from international platforms after independence - for example, universal brotherhood, world peace, peaceful co-existence of different ways of life, *panchasheel* etc. are all in the *Hindu* tradition. Nor were India's actions hypocritical, with peaceful precepts and aggressive actions. India's voice is not paid heed to and the so-called powerful nations are pushing the world towards a disastrous war, because our nation is not strong enough, organised enough to be able to restrain their selfishness and ego and show them their right place. We are suffering from such internal dissentions, confusion and lack of self-confidence that our word carries no weight. We are disorganised again because our national leadership is not prepared boldly to present the grand *Hindu* National idealism and inspire the people to positive energetic action on that basis. People who call themselves progressive, leaders busy in politics of power and foreigners engaged in undermining this country, eagerly waiting to devour it part by part have together brought about a separation between Hinduism and Nationalism. Their propagation of these views and their dogged disowning of the *Hindu* Identity have together formed the negative theme of their nationalism. How can this inspire the nation to enthusiasm and strength ? So the only way out is to awaken the identity between *Hindutva* and Nationalism in the people's minds by non-governmental efforts, build up a strong society- so that in future the government will be under pressure to follow policies which will be commensurate with people's wishes. The earlier this happens, the better for both our nation and the world.

Grim Test of Time

In this context, Panditji has put forth another important point which has proved to be very significant in the light of the experience of the last two or three hundred years. During this period, different kinds of experiments in social systems, economic structures, methods of government etc. were made. In all these and in the discoveries in modern physics, Panditji observed, we find, that there is a certain kind of tentativeness. If we bring before our mind's eye thousands of years of the Indian experience, these new experiments are transient like bubbles which blow up and burst. There is, however, solidity and permanence in the basic principles of the *Hindu* social structure; their ability for self-preservation has been proved beyond doubt in this long and trying period. It is true that in the last thousand and more years the *Hindu* social life has not been cleansed so that plenty of weeds have found it possible to grow there. It is like stagnant water becoming impure and stinking. What is needed is cleaning and the waters must be allowed to flow with the time. Yet the question : is will it be wise to give up the foundation of the permanent principles emerging from the close and prolonged study of human life and nature made by the *Hindu* thinkers ? What stability did the philosophy propagated in Mao's dictatorship in China and being discarded now enjoy ? Mao's theory of continuous revolution was that the revolutionaries who succeed and assume power soon develop weaknesses and become counter-revolutionaries. A new revolution has to emerge and throw them out of power. He gave the attractive name "Cultural Revolution" to this new process. How much progress could China make in the last thirty years through these revolutions and counter-revolutions so far as the happiness of the common man was concerned ? Agriculture there was in ruins. And the new government has been forced to go back to those systems which Mao tried to destroy at the cost of innumerable lives. Because of communes, countless people suffered great misery. Now the people are again given the right to property and choice in occupations. Panditji and other thinkers have said that the principles on the basis of which systems sufficiently stable, contributing to people's welfare and human good in general are developed must be very carefully studied and tested. The methods suggested by the Indian philosophers to maintain a proper balance between various human needs on the one hand and the human desire to enjoy all sorts of pleasures on the other, would be very beneficial to all human societies which are dominated at present by consumerism, - consumerism which neglects the spiritual side of man and which is exploited by technocrats. This contribution by India is invaluable.

There is a very revealing episode in Swami Vivekanand's life. He was asked in America : "America is prosperous and Indians are poverty-stricken. Why should then India not accept the American way of life so as to develop a rich and prosperous society in India as well ?" Swamiji replied, "I have no objection, but there is only one problem. All your systems are yet in the experimental stage.

India is an ancient land. I admit that some distortions, undesirable practices and weaknesses may have entered our systems. They will have to be corrected. But we evolved a social system which remained stable and helped our society to sustain itself for thousands of years. It has stood the test of time. If it is to be discarded and a new system adopted, the alternative system must also have stood the test of time. I am prepared to experiment on the system you have adopted, but we must see its successful application here for at least five hundred years, because it involves the life of the entire nation. A day in man's life is like just a moment in a nation's life. So your economic system must first be tried and if after that it proves to be lasting and durable by its application for five hundred years, we Indians will not hesitate to adopt it." Swamiji never denied the wisdom of accepting useful scientific knowledge from any quarter. This difference between durability and transitoriness must ever be kept in mind. We must also feel confident that in the social sphere, we possess a philosophy and a system which is likely to prove beneficial to the whole world. It is our national responsibility to raise here an exemplary and happy social structure which any one may come and observe.

To impel our society to fulfil this responsibility will lead to the good of the world. *Hindu* literature which shows the path of real human happiness, like the Vedas, Upanishads, Bhagawat Geeta, Ramayana and Maha*Bharat*, never even once says that it is meant for Hindus only, or only for India or a particular caste or sect in India. Everywhere the reference is to humanity, and it is about humanity as a whole that they have thought.

सर्वेऽपि सुखनः सन्तु सर्वे सन्तु निरामयाः।
सर्वे भद्राणि पश्यन्तु मा कश्चिद् दुःखमाप्नुयात्।।

(Let all human beings be happy and all free from disease. Let them all see the good, the meritorious. Let no one suffer from any sorrow.)

This is the sublime desire for all when Manu said with deep faith in the people of this land.

एतद्देशप्रसूतस्य सकाशादग्रजन्मनः।
स्वं स्वं चरित्रं शिक्षेरन् पृथिव्यां सर्वमानवाः।।

(All human beings on earth would learn the right kind of character from a man born in this country as from an elder brother.) Saint Jnyaneshwar also asked his Guru for the blessing:

> किंबहुना सर्वसुखी । पूर्ण होवोनि तिन्ही लोकी।
> भजिजो पुरुषी । अखंडित।।

(Indeed, let all persons in the three worlds be full of happiness and worship the Almighty for all time.)

And this is true of all saints. The problem today is as to who is to accept the legacy of this thought, nourish it and hand it over to the whole world through his own ideal conduct of life.

Hindu Rashtra as the Base of Operation

Basically, therefore, the whole *Hindu* thought concerning life is in the context of the entire humanity and most of it transcends all boundaries of time and place. But there is no powerful centre which would be able to transmit it with confidence so as to reach all corners of the world. There has been a complete neglect of this thought in the land and the society in which the thought emerged and evolved. There has been the baseless but persistent propaganda against it as it being reactionary and communal. It is no surprise that the Imperialist Westerners in their superiority complex indulged in distorted propaganda. But, the *Hindu* society here, unmindful of the dictum नात्मानमवसादयेत् (We should not ruin ourselves), created a situation in which they have become their own enemies. The real problem is to eradicate this disease. Shri Dattopant Thengadi has put forth a very apt theory in this context. He says: "Even if a benevolent task is to be performed, it cannot be undertaken simultaneously everywhere. It requires a firm base of operation. This universal *dharma* of the Hindus to work for the well-being of the human race should have *Bharat*, this *Hindu Rashtra*, as its base of operation. It should be in the fitness of things here to quote the concluding part of the booklet 'Concept of *Hindu Rashtra*'- a speech delivered by Shri Thengadi, so that the mutual relationship between *Hindu Rashtra* and its world mission will be sufficiently elucidated. Shri Thengadi says :

"Our idea of *Hindu Rashtra* is that *Hindu* feels affection towards the entire humanity, thinks about the whole universe as a follower of *Vishwa Dharma*. If we think on these lines, what will be the place of *Hindu Rashtra* in the context of the universe? When national freedom had to be established in the whole of Italy, the base of operation was Piedmont. In Germany, it was Prussia. When *'Hindavi Swaraj'* was to be established in Shivaji's times, Maharashtra became the base of operation. In the same way, if *Vishwa Dharma* is to be established in the whole world, *Bharat* will be the base of operation. This is our concept of *Hindu Rashtra*. If we keep that clearly in our minds the noise around will not create any confusion in us.

"The common *Hindu* has become self-centered today. He must be pulled out of his small and narrow concept of T making him identify himself with a higher unit; this is necessary and for this the 'Nation' unit is both useful and practicable. It is not implied that he should restrict himself for ever to that unit. Our goal according to the *Hindu* concept is that the evolution of his self-awakening should ultimately lead him to identify himself with the whole universe. The *Hindu Rashtra* of the Hindus who accept this objective of human life can be the base of operation for the laudable cause of leading every individual to his perfection and achieving universal happiness. This ideal thought of the life mission of *Hindu Rashtra* has all along been placed before us by all prophets-right from the ancient seers to the modern seers like Shri Aurobindo and Shri Guruji. And that is the real character of *Hindu Rashtra*.

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Solution to the Problem of Minorities

This positive approach of the *Hindu Rashtra* and its world-mission should not leave any apprehension in anybody's mind about the organisation of Hindus and its purpose. Experience, however, is otherwise. Jana Sangh, the party which Pandit Deendayalji, a man with such sublime thoughts led, was branded by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as a communal party. Pandit Nehru's charge was echoed and re-echoed even down to the small rural areas. The reason perhaps is that in the constitution of the Jana Sangh, drafted by Panditji, among the fundamental principles of the party was a mention of 'One land, one people and one culture' (that is *Bharat Mata*, the society which calls her its motherland and the culture developed on this land, namely *Bharatiya*-or as the world knows it-*Hindu* culture). Jana Sangh was open to all, but a member had to accept this concept of one land, one people and one culture of Indian nationhood. He had to accept it as an article of faith. His being just a resident of India was not enough qualification for membership. Panditji's party being thus a strong advocate of cultural nationalism and of nationalistic concepts, the soul of which is the *Hindu* culture, members of the Congress government may have opened an aggressive front against it. The RSS where Panditji took his first lessons of pure nationalism is completely aloof from power-politics and it has openly pledged to organise the *Hindu* society. That is its life-mission. It is the crux of their philosophy that this is a *Hindu Rashtra.* People in power and other so-called secularists stamped the RSS also as communal. Panditji was repeatedly asked : 'You speak in terms of *Hindu* culture and *Hindu Rashtra* : What are you going to do about the crores of Muslims and Christians and the other religious minorities residing in India ? Do they not have a place in the country ? You are not going to drown them in the sea; are you ?' The government and the so-called secularists tried to create a fear-psychosis that if the Hindu national thought becomes powerful in the country, the non-Hindu minority communities in India cannot be secure here. In the last fifty years an effort was systematically made in the country to spread the misunderstanding that the theory of the identity of *Hindutva* and nationalism was born in opposition to and hatred of Muslims and Christians in particular. This campaign was launched out of political self-interest and is still continued for the same reason. This camouflaging obviously has no honesty about it.

While examining the various facets of Deendayalji's national thinking, attention has already been drawn to the fact that their direction is completely positive and never negative. The *Hindu Rashtra* concept is not at all based on hatred or craze for competing with any community; it is far from reactionary. If it had been that, it would have been exploded long ago. It hardly needs mention as to what was the fate of the so-called patriotism based on antagonism to the British. Those so-called patriots unfortunately interpreted that *Swaraj* meant freedom for unlimited self-aggrandisement and, because of the harmful habit of thinking; anti-somebody every time, they are indulging in endless infighting. The Marxist thought being based on opposition to and hatred of the haves' class appears to have fallen on evil days. The Marxists are divided into many factions and the communist countries themselves have stood in opposition against one another. Even in India, the Marxist parties are of dozens of hues. Hatred or conflict can never provide a constructive motivation in life. Though this is so, the question is asked again and again as to what is the attitude of the advocates of the *Hindu Rashtra* theory towards the minority groups. Panditji has of course discussed this question in the light of his *Hindu Rashtra* ideology, and his views are quite clear. There is neither confusion nor hypocrisy born of political expediency or equivocal escapism. Today we see a number of people in various political parties who are now disillusioned about the concept of territorial nationalism, to establish which desperate efforts were made for the last sixty or seventy years. They are disturbed by the manner in which the problem of minorities is again raising its ugly head. They earnestly feel that the *Hindu* society should not be allowed to become weak and numerically smaller. They see the danger of another partition looming ahead. But being in the expediency of present-day power-politics they cannot speak the honest truth, as they want to stay put. Those who are not bound thus, however, can speak frankly.

The Real Nature of the Problem

What exactly was the stand taken by Panditji about the so-called religious minorities ? First of all, Being a *Hindu*, he was never opposed to the Muslim or Christian mode of worship. He never once criticised Mohammed the Prophet or Jesus Christ, the founders of the two sects. It was his definite view that the so-called problem of the Muslims or Christians is far from religious. How to worship God and 'which God' to worship was each individual's personal consideration and nobody had any reason to look down upon another on the basis of different modes of worship. This सर्वपंथसमभाव (the equality of all religions) was his stand in this respect. You're worshipping God according to the tenets of Mohammed or Jesus has nothing to do with nationalism. Hindus in India are prepared to recognize even thirty-three crores of gods. Shri Krishna says in the Bhagavadgeeta:

येऽप्यन्यदेवताभक्ता यजन्ते श्रद्धयान्विताः।
तेऽपि मामेव कौन्तेय यजन्त्यविधिपूर्वकम्।।

(Those who worship other deities with devotion also worship Me and Me only, O Arjuna, without resorting to proper mode of (My) worship.) This includes all gods and goddesses that have existed. It does not at all matter if anybody includes Allah or Jesus among them. By whatever name you call the Almighty, Omnipotent Power which rules the world, ultimately He is त्रैलोक्यनाथो हरिः (Master of the three worlds). In a *Hindu* family, there often are members who have taken their blessings from different Gurus. We have Shaivas and Vaishnavas. Some worship Dattatreya, some Vithoba of Pandharpur. This leads to no disagreement; this understanding is inherent in the *Hindu* blood. Panditji was a whole hearted supporter of this generous, liberal view. Therefore, the Muslim problem or the Christian problem so-called is fundamentally not a problem about what the relationship between God and man should be or what mode of worship one should follow to propitiate God. Those who looked upon it as this type of problem and tried to create unity between Hindus and Muslims or Hindus and Christians, on that basis, could achieve no success. When Gandhiji in his daily evening prayers introduced ईश्वर अल्ला तेरे नाम (Ishwara and Allah are your names), he tried to emphasize the identity of two modes of worship and thus tried to create a feeling of unity. As a matter of fact, this was not at all a new experiment of promoting understanding in India. It is recorded in history that the Saint poet Kabir and Guru Nanak had made this effort earlier. Attempts have been made to preach that Rama and Rahim are one and the same, but this has not resulted in bringing about unity. It is said that the heavy bloodshed resulting from the Crusades and 'Holy wars' in Europe were an outcome of religious conflicts. But the question is: who were the saints and religious leaders involved in the conflict ? The battles were fought by the people who aspired for power. When Bhagwan Shri Krishna says : "I assume different *avataras* (incarnations) for the establishment of *dharma*", he is certainly not speaking in defence of a particular sect or religion. He uses the words परित्राणाय साधूनां विनाशाय च दुष्टकृताम् (I do this for the protection of the good people and the destruction of the evil-doers). Those who worship God in full faith according to their own method of worship for their salvation never create any conflict. It is those who bear some intolerant bigoted ambition in their minds and become aggressive, they are responsible for conflicts. One more point that Panditji stated is worth consideration. The problem that arises has nothing to do with the goodness or otherwise of any individual. Every society is formed of good and bad, good intentioned and evil intentioned characters. Mohammed Karim Chhagla and Hamid Dalwai were both born in the Muslim society itself. Famous revolutionary Ashfaq Ulla was also a Muslim. Muslims held responsible and important posts in the armies of both Shivaji and the Peshwas. The important point is that they were all individuals, good individuals, loyal to their country; but they cannot be described as proper representatives of crores of Muslims. From their behaviour, we cannot draw any definite inference about the mass mind and attitude. If the majority of Muslims were like Chhagla, there would be no problem whatsoever. If all people in the Christian community were liberals like Dr. V.V. John, what reason was there for any conflict ? The quarrel is not with any sect or mode of worship and quoting a few rare examples of good persons will not solve the problem. Panditji said that these two approaches have proved futile so far and are not likely to be of any use henceforward.

Basically a Political Problem

Following his usual practice, Panditji has gone to the root of the problem created in our national life by the so called minority communities. Warding off an attempt at general goody-goody statements, he concentrates on revealing the real nature of the problem and the way to solve it. He has said that it is a political problem and a political solution must be sought. While explaining this statement, he says that at the root of all communal unrest, is the aspiration of the concerned communities to establish their political domination in particular geographical areas. To fulfil these aspirations, they want an increase in their numerical strength, by hook or by crook. They are allergic to family planning and monogamy. Supported by foreign parties and news media, they carry on systematic conversion campaigns. They do not mind resorting to terrorism. Infiltrators from Bangla Desh are given resort in Assam so as to facilitate Assam becoming a Muslim majority State. Iran and Afghanistan were made Muslim States with the active support of the political power. Afghanistan was formerly Gandhar and it was a part of *Bharatavarsha*. That part of *Bharat* which loses its *Hindu* majority is cut off from *Bharat*: that is the lesson of history. But the followers of Islam are not satisfied merely with eating big bites : they find the *Hindu* majority areas irksome. If the ambition that Islam should have political control of the entire land of *Bharat* is entertained by the followers of Islam as a community, the dry cold philosophy that God and Allah are the same can never satisfy or root out that ambition. Giving examples of how some Hindus saved some Muslims or vice-versa during a particular communal riot cannot help create lasting unity in the two communities. The present chief of the RSS, Shri Balasaheb Deoras, often quotes a conclusion historians have reached at from their study of history. The conclusion is : in the history of the world, Muslims have always been an intolerant majority and a turbulent minority. One finds this conclusion corroborated in any country calling itself Islamic in today's world. In the Islamic countries, Muslims are intolerant majority. Wherever they are an effective minority, they create unrest. That is because they aspire to establish complete political domination of their community. Muslims as a community have developed this group characteristic. They recognize no difference between politics and religion. The ceaseless effort of the Muslim and Christian communities to fulfil their political aspirations under the pretext of religion has caused all the intricate problems in India. Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress leaders ignored this aspect of the problem. Otherwise they would never have wasted time and energy in the methods they adopted to bring about *Hindu*-Muslim unity. Nor would some other people have suggested superficial remedies, with the best of intentions, like inter-religion marriages, participation in one-anothers' festivals, publicising the similarities in the teachings of various sects, etc. Nor would some others have, as some actually did, entertained ideas like Hindus giving Muslim names to their children and vice-versa for bringing about national integration.

Such methods were already tried in the past. The Rajputs gave their daughters to Muslims-did this result in ending feud between them? Samartha Ramdas tells us of Hindus worshipping and paying homage to Muslim pirs and musjids while describing contemporary social conditions. In spite of all this, why was Shivaji required to gird up his loins to solve the problem ? Even today Hindus worship a number of Muslim *pirs*, participate in the celebration of Muharram : where do we find relief from communal tension as a result of these ? The ancestors of a majority of Muslims were Hindus. Those who are converted to Islam today were Hindus even till yesterday. Then what happens as soon as a Mukund becomes Mohammad Khan that the entire life-pattern of the newly converted man suddenly changes ? The answer to this historic problem is that the Muslim community holds very dear the collective aspiration of bringing the territory where it lives under Islamic domination and to convert the whole population to Islam. Conversion to Islam means wiping out completely the existence of any other religious philosophy. This is certainly not a subject for superficial treatment - its roots lie far deep in history. Even if we restrict ourselves to the problem of Muslims, it would be unhistorical to assume that this is a product of only the divide and rule policy of the British. It is no exaggeration to say that this problem goes as far back as the aggressions of Mahamood Ghaznavi, Ghori, Allauddin Khilji and others. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar has very intelligently reviewed this entire history in his book 'Thoughts on Pakistan', written before the creation of Pakistan. He has referred to Allauddin Khilji as a specimen of the attitude of the aggressors towards Hindus. The point in it is: A *Kazi,* in a reply to a question from Khilji about the relations of Hindus and Muslims, said, "It is your religious duty to keep the *Hindu* subjects in perpetual slavery, because they are sworn enemies of our Prophet. The instructions of the Prophet are that we should convert them to Islam and if that cannot be done, kill them, usurp all their wealth and property or put them in permanent slavish bondage." Now is it ever possible to wipe out the memories of the aggression committed for centuries with the objective of destroying the *Hindu* society with its religion and culture ? Maybe, the generous and forgiving *Hindu* society would be prepared to forget this past, but if today the Muslims themselves are proud of their 'glorious' bloodshed and aspire to gain political domination of India again, how can the Hindus accept it ?

This is not merely an imaginary charge. Sir Sayyed Ahmed Khan, founder of the Aligarh University, has said about the past of the Muslims in India : "Muslims are not the original, inhabitants of India. They came with the victors of the past and gradually settled here. Indian Muslims are descendents of that community which was once the ruling class here. O Muslims, think about who you are and what your community is. We are those people who have ruled over India for six or seven hundred years. The blood of those people circulates through our veins, whose mere name sent shivers not only through India but also through Asia and Europe. We had captured the entire *Bharat* at the point of the sword." And this same Sir Sayyed has been named by many as a nationalist Muslim. This example belongs to a period as late as the latter half of the XIX Century. It is futile to enter into a logical analysis of such an attitude : what matters is the sentiment behind it. A hundred and twenty-five years before this, i.e. when the Muslim rule was ended and its armies were routed by *Hindu* forces, Shah Walilullah in the North made an organised attempt to segregate the Muslims from the Hindus. His poisonous instigation to the Muslims was : We have come here from abroad. To us the Arabic language and culture and our Arab heredity are a matter of pride. Do not, therefore, give up the customs we brought with us from Arabistan and do not take to the *Hindu* customs and tradition.' What is the difference of spirit between these two statements made at different times one a hundred years apart from each other ? Later the formation of the Muslim League, the advantages gained by the Muslims through the 'Divide and Rule' policy of the British and the mounting pressure leading to the partition of India in 1947 are gruesome events which need no repetition. The Indian National Congress always claimed that it was the real representative of people of all religions of India. Mohammad Ali Jinnah of the Muslim League never gave any corner to that claim. He treated the Congress as an advocate only of the Hindus and used the very language which Shah Waliullah Khan and Sir Sayyed Ahmed had formerly used, as is illustrated from the following passage: "I depend entirely on my strength. I don't depend on the English or the *Hindu Banias*. Today we are demanding only a one-fourth of India for ourselves leaving as much as three-fourth of it for the Hindus. If they do not give up their intransigence perhaps they may not get even this three-fourth. For the last one thousand years Hindus have never ruled over India. We are ready to give them three-fourth of the country to rule over; they should not have their eye or our one-fourth." Jinnah advocated the theory that the Hindus and Muslims are two separate nations, with propagandist zeal. He said, "The problem of India is 'not intercaste, it is international. If peace is to reign here, the major communities must be given their own separate chunks of land. It is nothing but a mere dream to imagine that the Hindus and the Muslims can stay together in India as members of a composite nationality. The Muslims are not a minority community, they are a nation. They must have their own independent land and their own State".

No Change after 1947

What other aspirations could Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim community has in this uncompromising, mad insistence other than the establishment of an independent Islamic State on the-land of *Bharat*? Barrister Jinnah was never known to be a devoted Muslim. His general life style was of the modern, western pattern. But he became a political leader of the Muslims : he told the Muslims that they were a community that had defeated and ruled over the Hindus. He fanned their religious fanaticism. All his spiraling demands were directed at securing maximum political rights for the Muslims. Muslims all over India voted for League candidates in 1946 elections so that Pakistan should be created. There were then separate electorates for the Muslims. The complete rout of the Congress in Muslim constituencies was quite obvious. Even in those areas which were never likely to get included in Pakistan, the demand for Pakistan secured unprecedented support, with the exception of NW province. But the Congress party did not adopt the national policy of effectively fighting with the Muslim political aspirations on that level and did not bear in mind that the Muslim ambition was political in character. Theirs was a policy of appeasement of the Muslims. In the period immediately preceding the partition, this appeasement policy reached its climax. No sooner did Barrister Jinnah raise his threatening voice on any issue, Congress leaders gifted away on a platter whatever he asked for. Gandhiji was ultimately ready even to hand over the government of the country to Muslim League. But as soon as Jinnah realised that a separate Muslim State was possible, he was not prepared to make even the slightest compromise. The Muslims as a whole felt that as soon as they could establish a Muslim State on Indian territory, they would secure a base for further operation and extend Muslim domination elsewhere. Mr. Jinnah's claim that Pakistan would soon devour Assam is well known. All this history had to be recalled because it would help appreciate the wisdom of Pandit Deendayalji's opinion that the question of Muslims is a political question. Those who advise the Hindus to show tolerance or to forget the past have got to realise the real question. The real question is how the deep-rooted feeling that they are the conquerors, have ruled over the Hindus and that there is nothing wrong to finish the incomplete job of converting the remaining part of India to Islam will be completely eradicated from Muslim hearts. The manner in which this could be achieved is the only efficacious way to bring about *Hindu*-Muslim unity; everything else is futile. The events that followed the partition strongly confirm Deendayalji's theory. The Muslim majority in new Muslim majority State was not at all ready to allow the members of *Hindu* minority there to live with dignity and security. In West Pakistan the Hindus are in a negligible number. Those in the East Pakistan, now Bangla Desh, felt altogether insecure and had to become refugees. The machinations to gulp Assam continue unabated.The communal question in India has assumed a sharper edge. Riots started by Muslims are a constant headache. It is a clear proof that we have found no way out. This in fact is the background to the assertion that the policy which Gandhiji and the Congress leaders continued to follow was wrong. No one is thinking in terms of becoming inimical to Muslims in India or to drive away entire Muslim community out of India.

In the context of the partition in 1947 Panditji writes, "The defeat in 1947 is not the failure of India's experience of its unity, it is the defeat of misconceived Utopian efforts made in the name of national unity. Not that our objective was wrong, our methods to achieve it were wrong and so we were defeated. If due to faulty instruments or means one doesn't achieve a goal, one cannot brand the goal as wrong or unattainable. It was because our means were defective that our country was partitioned and it is because of the persistent use of the same wrong means that even after four decades of independence the communal problem continues its strangle-hold around us. The partition had clearly proved that the appeasement can never lead to unity. Why then did we not review the situation and reorganise our strategy for the solution of the problem ? We may have in India diversity in methods of worship, but why did we not proclaim in unequivocal terms that the national cultural stream would continue to remain one and those who cannot identify themselves with it would not be considered nationals ? We should have completely got rid of this problem of political majority and minority once and for all. We should not have allowed the fissiparous tendencies which brought about partition to raise their ugly head again. Why did we allow this nasty habit of pushing ahead political demands in the name of religion, which dealt a severe blow to our national unity in 1947 ?" Pandit Deendayalji laid great emphasis on cultural unity. Whether it is Christians or Muslims, they must identify themselves with the age-long national cultural stream that was *Hindu* culture in this country. He was not prepared for any compromise on this issue. This was his stand on national integration. He looked upon culture as the soul of nationalism. He considered it as an axiom that it was through cultural unity alone that nationalism manifests itself in everyday life. Muslims in India came here as aggressors and intend to continue here in the same capacity. The creation of Pakistan was a clearly political aggression on Indian territory. Even it we call it partition, it is really one further chapter in the history of thousand and odd years of continued aggression. Earlier aggressions lasted for centuries, but in the end they were repealed by national forces. Bhausaheb Peshwa literally crushed the Islamic throne of Delhi with hammers. Successful efforts to give a political rebuff to the Muslim power since Shivaji had the effect of weakening their virulence and setting in operation the process of assimilation. If the political defeat of any religious community or sect has to be clinched, it must be made to realise two things : one, that no violent atrocities perpetrated to fulfil political aspirations and goaded by communal frenzy will be tolerated; and second, that a sincere readiness to become one with the national mainstream in all goodness will lead to their sharing an honourable life with all others. It is this political defeat of the Muslims that Panditji advocated.

The destructive strategy adopted by the Muslims, egged on by their political aspirations and their religious intolerance, has not undergone any change yet. The general methodology of this strategy is to make a brutal attack on whatsoever is considered as sacred, inspiring, sublime and divine in the *Hindu* culture; to treat this intolerant destructiveness as a part of their religious duty; and to augment the defeatist mentality of the disorganised *Hindu* society. For centuries together the Muslims indulged in demolishing temples, slaughtering cows, defaming Rama and Krishna and denying them their position as national heroes, humiliating and molesting women, bringing about conversions by force, objecting to singing of Vande Mataram and such other things according to this rude policy. This exactly was what Bhushan intended to express when he said:

काशीजी की कला जाती, मथुरा मसीत होती।
शिवाजी न होते तो सुन्नत होती सबकी।।

i.e., If Shivaji had not been born, the Kashi temple would have lost its dignity, Mathura temple would have become a masjid (a mosque); all of us would have been circumcised (and converted to Islam). The Muslim communalists are ill at ease in the absence of political power : in their way of thought political power and religion's proselytisation have always gone together. This will have to be taken into consideration before any attempt is made to solve the Muslim problem. Even after the rude shock of 1947, the Congress rulers did not learn the wisdom of remaining firm on the political front. This had led to continued spilling of innocent blood on the land of *Bharat*. The national community has been subjected to repeated ignominy and newer threats have been given rise to national unity. If the fissiparous tendencies of one group are connived at for reasons of expediency and preservation of political power, the divisiveness becomes infectious and spreads. If the secessionist political plot of the Muslims had been firmly nipped in the bud there could have been no talk of Jharkhand, Nagaland, Udayachal, Dalitsthan, Dravidsthan, Khalistan, etc. The country would never have been required to face the flood of demands like these.

Strengthening the National Force-the Only Way

Even while he was working for his political party, Panditji had made *Akhand Bharat* (Undivided India) as fundamental article of faith. He had made a clear mention of this in the constitution of the Jana Sangh. Pakistan is an organic part of *Hindu Rashtra* taken over by the aggressors and it must again be re-united with India. He was never prepared for any kind of compromise on this issue, nor did he avoid the unequivocal advocacy of this truth for political expediency. He never bothered about whether Jana Sangh would get or lose Muslim votes due to his stand. If anybody asked him what method he would adopt to achieve *Akhand Bharat*, he would reply: "By defeating Muslims on the political front". The general Muslim community does not seem to desire that the country should be united again, because they look upon Pakistan as a spring-board to carry out the efforts to bring India under Islamic rule. If Pakistan is looked upon as a ladder leading to that objective, how can they possibly accept the idea of a United India ? So here again, the only way left for us is to increase our national strength sufficiently to shatter all political hopes of communalist domination. Nor are the Congress Party workers in the political and other fields who have a mistaken idea of the word 'Indian' or who distort the meaning of the word 'secular' ready to accept this approach today and they are unlikely to accept this logical stand in the immediate future. Because the vote-banks of Muslims and the harmful impact of much-propagated territorial nationalism serve as a very powerful attraction, they stray away from the correct path and guild it with philosophy.

This has led to the smothering of pure nationalist feelings and consequently, anti-national forces are gaining in strength.

In his article *'Akhand Bharat* (Undivided India) : Objectives and Means', Panditji says : "No sensible man will say that six crores of Muslims should be eradicated or thrown out of India, but then they will have to identify themselves completely with Indian life. If the consciousness of oneness is possible in the geographically partitioned India, the identification of the rest of the region will be achieved in no time. If the country has been divided because of the lack of feeling of unity, the restoration of that feeling will make it united again. This is what we must strive for. In order to make the Muslims proper Indians we will have to change our policy of the last half a century. The Congress made its efforts for *Hindu*-Muslim unity on a wrong basis. Instead of emphasising sharing the experience of real unity of nation and culture which had gone on ceaselessly from time immemorial, the Congress followed the suicidal policy of fuelling separation. It tried to bring a number of diverse people artificially together through political bargaining. Such efforts can never succeed. Nationalism and anti-nationalism can never coexist in harmony." Following this policy, we will have to convince the Muslims that Pakistan was the artificial creation of an unnatural State. They will have to be reminded of their ties with the earlier history and of their old *Hindu* ancestors. Efforts will have to be made to make them feel that it is their history. In a few years after the creation of a separate Pakistan, the Pakistan government got Mr. Wheelan, archeological adviser of Pakistan, to write a booklet called '5000 years of Pakistan'. It describes the greatness of the Pre-Pakistan and Pre-Islam life; its culture is praised and it has lauded Pantni. If the stream of this culture's glory starts flowing again, the Muslim community will find it easier to identify itself with it and unity can be forged again. India should certainly encourage such thoughts. To control the anti-national elements firmly, to follow policies which will undoubtedly reveal the futility of efforts of securing political gains and to urge the Muslims to assimilate in the national cultural stream by giving them proper guidance this threefold strategy will have to be followed to solve the Muslim problem permanently. This is what Pandit Deendayalji had in mind.

Another question Panditji was often asked was : 'Nepal, Burma, Sri Lanka also must be assimilated with India. Why do you not insist on this ? Why do the advocates of *Akhand Bharat* aim only at Pakistan which was created as late as 1947 ?' Panditji used to answer : 'These countries have not repudiated the Indian cultural stream or adopted a foreign or intolerant culture. They have not, in their fanaticism, demolished Indian centres of faith, shrines or places of worship. Nepal is a *Hindu* State and the Indian people are proud of this fact. It is a widely known fact that Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh had once invited the King of Nepal as a Chief Guest at a function in Nagpur, but the Indian government raised obstacles in the way. The Indians do not think that the existence of independent States in Nepal, Burma and Sri Lanka is an outcome of the breaking up of India or that they have led to division of India to pieces. The creation of Pakistan, on the other hand, has been systematically brought out due to hatred for the Indian culture, opposition to it today and the aspiration for the future to spread the domination of Islamic culture throughout India. This is why it is a partition. Culture is closely associated with the nation spirit. A community which wants to destroy the values of Indian culture, its ideals, national heroes, traditions, places of devotion and worship and which desires to politically dominate it can never become an indivisible part of this country. Mecca, Medina, Hassan and Hussain, Sohrab and Rustom and Bulbul may be very significant in their own ways but they do not form a part of Indian national life and stream of Indian culture. How can those who are emotionally associated with these and look upon Rama and Krishna tradition as alien be described as nationals ? We see that the moment anybody embraces Islam, an effort is made to cut him off from the entire tradition of this country and connect him to the alien tradition. Indonesia is a Muslim country, but their love for Ramayana has not at all waned and their respect for river Ganga is deep. Why should the same not happen here ? But the fact is that it does not. So, unless all people become part of the same cultural stream, national unity or integration is impossible. If we want to preserve Indian nationalism, this is the only way and for that a situation will have to be created in which political aspirations of Islam in India will be rooted out. Then and then alone can a longing for cultural unity take root among them.

Political Defeat Needed

A speech delivered by Pandit Deendayalji in Pune in 1965 on the subject of *Akhand Bharat* is illustrative of the clarity of his thoughts. In the course of his speech he said, "An advocate of Pakistan, a *Pakistani*, is keen to be aloof from the flow of public life here. He constantly nurtures the ambition of dominating entire India. As a result, he breaks his ties with every tradition here and formulates a self-made culture and tradition of his own. Pakistan is the living expression of this political aspiration. If Pakistan were a mere separate political power, it would have given no rise to anxiety. For, in India also, there were a number of separate States, some of them even claimed to be sovereign states, but these States did not pose any threat to Indian Nationalism. But Pakistan is not merely a separate Political Power. Pakistan has faith in a separate Nationalism which is cut off from the historical nationalism. This is alien nationalism, brimming with inimical feeling for India. This indeed is poison. So there need not be any doubt as to whether this political problem should be solved or not. It will have to be solved and there is only one way in which it can be solved. It can't be solved unless and until Muslims are politically defeated. It is only after such a defeat that it will be possible to assimilate the Muslims. It was this basic ignorance of the *Hindu*-Muslim problem that led to the appeasement methods or hollow appeals. It is not a surprise that they failed. The inferiority complex in the Hindus that has resulted from these wrong policies will also disappear with the defeat of the secessionists. The national sense of achievement will find free scope. Defeat often makes a person prone to self-analysis. When Muslims make a candid self-analysis, they will awake to the truth that their traditions are Indian traditions, they have common ancestors and *Bharat* Mata is their Motherland."

There is no need to comment on these observations. To bring about national unity and to stabilize it, it is necessary first to organise the strength of those who naturally have deep affection for the nation. Panditji has suggested this practical approach. It is a special characteristic of the *Hindu* Society that they will readily assimilate any person without his being required to give up his different method of worship. For this Panditji has enunciated a guiding principle : "We must become aggressive nationalists, not ready to accept any compromise on national level and not tolerating any antinational action. On the front of the mode of worship we must be tolerant and respectful to all views and religions and sects. On the social front our attitude should be completely assimilative." Adherence to such norms in actual life will automatically bring about a solution to all problems. What is necessary is an organised strength which in theory and in practice discards a compromise of nationalism with any aspirations to establish the supremacy of any foreign culture in India. Pandit Deendayalji has clearly said, "The struggle for national indepeadence which is being waged for a thousand and more years has not ended yet. The task undertaken by Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj has to be successfully completed."

The Christian Problem

After thus making his approach to the Muslim problem quite clear, his views about the Christians and other divisive forces need not detain us long. There is no gainsaying the fact that the Christian missionaries undoubtedly made a determined effort under the patronage of the British imperialist government, though not as recklessly as the Muslims, to wean away Hindus from their traditional culture. With this purpose in mind they made a crafty use of huge funds with them and their many public service projects in various areas. That the activities of the Christian Church were closely tied up with political motives was proved beyond doubt in the report of the Bhavani Shankar Niyogi Commission, appointed by the former Madhya Pradesh Government. For instance, the original name of the *'Adivasi Mahasabha'* working in the Ranchi, Chhota Nagpur and adjacent areas was 'Chhota Nagpur Christian Association', which later became, *'Adivasi Unnati Sabha'* (Aboriginals Development Society) and later *'Adivasi Mahasabha'*. It was this very *Mahasabha* that put forth the demand for a separate Jharkhand State. Correspondence conclusively proving how the British rulers, Muslim League and *Adivasi Mahasabha* made concerted efforts to raise demands for separate States (*'Sthanas'*) has also been brought to light and the monetory help also is listed. The plot to form a separate federal State of Vangasam (to include Bengal, Assam, Chhota Nagpur, Santhal Pargacas and the neighbouring Vanvasi areas) had advanced much further. When one studies the planned strategy of dividing the land genuinly belonging to *Bharat* between Muslim and Christian proselytizers, one wonders whether their role was that of religious minorities or that of anti-India aggressive marauders who wanted to grab Indian land. It is out of this that the present grim problems of Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland and their fissiparous and rebellious agitations have arisen. Christian aggressiveness has raised its head also in Kerala and Tamilnadu. Our government did not follow pure nationalistic policies after the attainment of independence, and these are the bitter fruits of this lapse. It is well-known that in the British regime, the educational machinery was very shrewdly used to break people away from the *Hindu* National culture. The European culture led a two-pronged attack against us : Religious conversion of Girijans and the poor people trapped in financial and other difficulties on the one hand and the systematic brainwashing of the students by destroying their faith in traditional systems on the other. We were pushed deeper and deeper in the bottomless pit of self-oblivion, inferiority complex and self-criticism. We were deprived of our *dharma* and our self-respect was blunted. Pandit Deendayalji has written a very thought provoking article, *'Gurupooja-Swadeshi* and Foreign', to expose the attempts made by the British for the proselytization. He has quoted a longish passage from the evidence of Lord Macauley's brother-in-law, Sir Charles Trevelyn, and commented: "The British like the Muslims lured away the Hindus from their religion, but they did not behave fanatically in their attempts at conversion, like the Muslims. The result was that it was difficult to distinguish those converts who became our leaders and took us gradually towards our downfall. If the reins of the nation are in such hands, it must be said that the centre of gravity of *Bharat* is outside *Bharatiya* life, not inside it."

During the last forty years, the conditions on this front have further deteriorated. The Christian community here has developed political ambitions and they are trying to gain maximum political advantage with the help of the Christian votes and the Christian majority in certain pockets. The Christian 'service organisations' are making all-out efforts on a wider scale to increase the Christian population. It is no use blaming the Christian missionaries for this. Shri Haribhau Pataskar, the well-known congress leader and member of the Constituent Assembly used to refer to one thing with great regret. When the Constituent Assembly was discussing the question of the minorities and the nature of the fundamental rights, everybody agreed that all should have religious freedom. But it was a near-unanimous decision that the right to propagate religion should be withheld. The Christian missionaries who saw which way the wind was blowing, were on the point of leaving India with their bag and baggage. But Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was of the opinion that the right to propagate religion should continue. He argued that in secular India, anyone could propagate his religion and the religion that people liked would last. Mainly because of his insistence, the right to propagate religion was finally included in the Constitution. It is crystal clear as to how during the last forty years the Christian missionaries made most of this facility. A Bill, legally prohibiting conversion by allurement and such other improper means was presented to the Parliament, but because of the organised nation-wide opposition of the Christian missionaries and their tremendous pressure, it was thrown out by the party in power. This was another proof of the short-sightedness of the rulers. The situation today is that no Christian missionary can propagate his religion in a single Islamic or Communist State in the whole of Asia or bring about conversions there. It is only in India that their activities are allowed unbridled free play. Naturally, they have concentrated their human resources and their financial strength here. The menace of both Muslim and Christian onslaught is formidable because of the petrodollars the Muslims received and the immense wealth supplied to Christians by the affluent Christian countries.

To avert these dangers, methods like awakening among the Hindus the love of *Dharma*, removing their self-oblivion, rekindling their self-respect and thereby stopping their tendency to imitate others must be adopted. It is these methods that Panditji has also advocated. He has set each of his thoughts in a definite idealistic pattern without forgetting the context of our nationalism and freedom. He spoke in clearest terms about the problem of minorities in India and stated candidly that their politically motivated aggressive activities can be defeated by an effective organisation of nationalist people without giving any scope to political gain or wrong notions about nationhood and by thus politically defeating the aggressors. All throughout his life he carried on this work of awakening and organisation from every platform and using every available means. While he said that the Christian and Islamic ambitions must be defeated by the nationalist people, he also made a positive appeal to defeat the foreign communist ideology. Viewing the utter defeat of the unscientific and unnatural concept of territorial nationalism and the great damage already done to the nation because of it and the damage being caused even today, the dire need is for the nation to accept the life-giving and proven mantra of cultural nationalism. It was with this intense urge that Pandit Deendayalji worked ceaselessly in his short span of life.

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12

Hindus are All One

The foundation for Deendayalji's theory of nationhood was the Motherland, people's devotion to the Motherland and the cultural stream providing the unifying factor. We have seen in our earlier discussion that he had strongly asserted that a nation can have only one culture and that people of an alien culture or those who are opposed to the national culture cannot be nationals. The policy of compromise adopted by the national leaders as exhibited in the creation of Pakistan resulted in weakening our national spirit and the emergence of a plethora of problems. In Deendayalji's lifetime, the Punjab and Assam problems had not confronted the nation in the frightening proportions they have assumed today. On the other hand, the Jana Sangh and the Akalis worked together in Punjab in a coalition ministry for some time. There existed complete goodwill between them. Nor had the wave of denying Hinduism spread wide among the Sikhs in the Punjab. The Dalit problem had not become as acute as it is today. These problems are frightening us today because of the selfish and (from the national point of view) shortsighted strategy of political parties.The policy advocated by Panditji, of strengthening the feeling of national oneness and not allowing any scope to fissiparous political aspirations is the only remedy for these problems. Here again there is no reason why the difference in ways of worship should prove to be an impediment in the path of national integration. But it appears that the idea of national integration has come to mean deliberating on the grievances - real or imaginary - and ever-growing demands of Muslims, Christians or any other community. As soon as the Muslims indulge in riots, there is a sporadic intensification of urgent measures and a spate of sermons on national integration. It is never realized that the unity of Hindus is also an essential step in achieving national integration. The party in power itself, together with the so-called nationalist newspapers, unthinkingly uses the expressions Hindus and Sikhs, Hindus and Harijans, Hindus and Navabouddhas, etc. Such terminology unnecessarily promotes division and duality. Upto 1931 the so-called 'aborigines' (i.e. Girijans and Vanavasis) were classified as Hindus, but the then Government decided to treat them as a class separate from Hindus. It was then that the seed for the demand of separate States for the so-called *Adivasis* and Christians was sown. In Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, etc., our *Vanavasi* brothers got the name 'tribals'. Even those who were traditionally Hindus now came to be treated separately as 'followers of no religion'. For one thing, this made conversions easy and the political motivation of raising new phantoms of separation also became practicable. The Christian missionaries are now furious at the efforts made, particularly by the Vishva *Hindu* Parishad, to remind the Vanavasis that they originally belong to the *Hindu* fold and help their assimilation in the cultural stream. According to Pandit Deendayalji, national integration really meant, first, strengthening the feeling of affinity among those who are naturally part of the stream of *Hindu* Culture and secondly, to bring those who stray away from it in the *Hindu* cultural stream and assimilate them in that mainstream. The currents which have been cut off from the mainstream will automatically grow weak and dry up. This mainstream naturally possesses the characteristic feature of assimilating all. So, to look upon Sikhs, Jains, Bouddhas, Harijans and Vanavasis as separate social groups as apart from the *Hindu* mainstream is to weaken the unifying principle and to promote disintegration. On the wide stage of national life, all these have an equal status. They are all organs of the *Hindu* society. Though various organs of the body serve different functions, they together form a healthy body. There is no dearth today of forces which encourage the disintegrating elements with a desire that the Indian nation should not remain healthy and should grow weaker and progressively more diseased. These forces of disintegration are both internal and foreign. We often find the internal forces becoming stooges of the foreigners for the sake of power or narrow financial gains. The *Dalit* problem is a sensitive sore of this kind. It has to be honestly admitted that due to the practice of social inequalities gross injustice has been perpetrated on this social fraternity for centuries together. It is a fact that the so-called upper castes had refused to show even elementary human consideration for them. In the last fifty years and more considerable change has taken place in the situation. Governmental laws, the growing awakening of the feeling of *Hindu* unity, industrialisation, the growth of urban areas, the disintegration of the Varna and caste framework due to changing times and the explosive agitations in the Dalit and downtrodden people - all together have restricted the inequalities in practice. But a natural, spontaneous attitude of equality and mutual affection do not seem to have become the order of the day. In various parts of the country we still come across any number of incidents in which discriminatory treatment to certain social groups is meted out. Mass conversions like those in Meenakshipuram are at least to some extent, the result of frustration, despair and the resulting desire for revenge. Some so-called *Dalit* leaders in their desire for quick gains and selfish interest are obtaining the support of the international Christian organisations here or Muslim communalist organisations there. One of the so-called *Dalit* organisations tried to raise a hue and cry against the Poona Accord brought about between Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar and Mahatma Gandhi. It is a good subject for probing and research as to who prompted this manoeuvre. Some of the self-styled *Dalit* leaders, instead of bringing about the all-sided upliftment of their brethren or welcoming the cooperation of those who desire to participate in their upliftment through sincere fellow-feeling are yet sowing seeds of dissension, hatred and disintegration. It is necessary to frustrate their political strategy.

This is one approach to equality. The other approach also is closely tied up with this thought and with *Hindu* philosophy.

विष्णुमय जग वैष्णवांचा धर्म । भेदभाव भ्रम अमंगल।।

(The world is all permeated by Lord Vishnu: so equality is the *dharma* of the Vaishnavas. All discrimination is an illusion and therefore, unholy). Or

भक्ति एथ सरे जाति अप्रमण

(Devotion here spreads everywhere alike. Castes do not provide criterion) In these and other *abhangas* (devotional songs) the influence of the same philosophical thought of spiritual unity is reflected and it has for its basis the knowledge and experience that the spirit in all beings is one.

जे जे देखिजे भूत । ते मानिजे भगवन्त।।

(Every being you see should be looked upon as God)-This is he attitude springing from this experience but the actuality in the every day life of an ordinary common man is that instead of this unity, social inequality and feeling of high and low prevail. While working for a national organisation, the problem today is how to eradicate this inequality and feeling of alienation and to establish equality in day-to-day social life. Workers engaged in the task of organisation are irked by this mental and psychological obstacle in their persistent effort for *Hindu* unity. The position today is that a large negated section of the *Hindu* society is inclined to disown Hinduism and retaliate by any means against those who consider themselves high-caste. The atmosphere has become explosive. Legation has proved ineffective in this regard. Even for the solution of this problem one has to revert to the answer provided by Panditji. The right approach is to look upon the nation as the focal point, give the maximum scope for individual development and follow the path of harmony and cooperation rather than that of conflict. To welcome and accommodate one and all in the wide expanse of Hinduism in a dignified manner, to imbibe a sense of unity in every heart, to discard old, outdated distorted systems and replace them by modern ones suitable to the times would be in keeping with the *Hindu* view of life. RSS has provided a model of such a corporate living. To expand it hundred-fold and to strengthen the bonds of affinity for the purpose is the practical aspect of this answer.

Discretion In Equality

Even though slogans of equality are raised in the modern world, the concept of equality has to be accepted with discretion. Our actual experience is that from the practical and material point of view, no two men are alike. Their looks and colour of skin and their physical build are different as are their inherent qualities. Considerable bitterness could be avoided if the idea of equality as conceived by *Hindu* thinkers is studied - more carefully. The first and basic premise is that even if men have different qualities and different kinds of duties allotted to them according to their qualities or aptitudes, all duties are equally dignified. This is called Sw*adharma* and there is an unequivocal assurance that to follow sw*adharma* is itself equivalent to the worship of God. So, in any duties performed to fulfil sw*adharma*, the question of high and low, dignified and undignified does not arise at all. If the duty is done without selfishness, no blame attaches itself to the doer. This really is the real concept of dignity of labour. We see that our well-known saints in the path of *bhakti* belong to various occupational groups. And in the end all of them achieved the identical highest fruition in life.The other practical consideration is that the structure of man's life has to be inevitably organised according to some principle for the stability, character and unimpeded development of society. Some people endowed with certain qualities, rise to responsible positions and become leaders in various fields. If a man belongs to this category, he naturally enjoys more dignity than what the other ordinary common people do. The higher prestigious positions today are posts like the President of the Indian Republic, Prime Minister, Minister and a Chairman of an institution or organisation. But there is bitter competition for such posts. Many social groups desire that one of their members should occupy the highest post. Why ? Because power, money, luxuries and status are all concentrated in that post. Not only power, but many perquisites like a bungalow, car, domestic servants, travel at government expense, free telephone, furniture and other facilities accompany a minister's post as a corollary. There are opportunities for him to fill his coffers. On the other hand, our ancient system or structure was based on a different principle : the higher the post, the fewer the opportunities for wealth and luxuries. *Rishis* and saints commanded so great a prestige that at their arrival, the king would rise and offer them an exalted seat first and humbly bow to them. They would spell out the rules of social life based on *dharma*. But their own daily life had to be free from pleasure-attachments and luxuries and entirely dedicated to God. They took care to see that their character was absolutely unblemished and devoid of all desire for sensual enjoyment.

We have any number of examples of highly respected, ascetic-minded great men on whose shoulders fell the mantle of high position in connection with their society or nation. They had inherent aptitude not to get involved in material wealth, and even to discard it. Arya Chanakya adorned the position of Chandragupta's chief minister for some time; he manoeuvred the fall of the unrighteous Nanda rule, but he never gave up his simple life in the hut. The moment he got a capable minister like *Rakshasa* to work for Chandragupta, he voluntarily relinquished his ministership and dedicated himself to god-realisation. Kunti was the Queen Dowager. When the *Pandavas* won the War and Yudhishthira ascended the throne, Kunti decided to adopt *Vanaprastha ashram* and left for the forest. Yudhishthira asked her, "You continually goaded us on to the war. Why then, immediately after our attainment of the throne, are you leaving us?" At this Kunti replied, "You are *Kshatriyas* and as such it was my duty to urge you to fulfil your responsibility. It was your duty to fight against *adharma* and you did it. I have no desire whatsoever for royal pomp and glory. To become a *vanaprastha ashram* and accompany my brother-in-law to the forest is now my sw*adharma*. *Bharata* in the Ramayana was detachment incarnate. He kept Rama's *padukas* (footware) on the throne and officiated as a king for fourteen years.

He could easily have usurped the throne. Rama would never have asked him to return his kingdom to him. And *Bharata* agreed to officiate as king only on condition that if Rama did not return after the stipulated time, he would have a pyre lit to immolate him, in fact he was on the point of doing so when Rama returned. Rama and Krishna did not do anything for personal aggrandisement. They observed *karmayoga.* They behaved thus, keeping in view the principle यद् यद् आचरति श्रेष्ठस्तद् तदेवेतरो जनः। (Ordinary people follow the path followed by great men.)

Such behaviour leaves no scope for inequality or jealousy.

When a post becomes the means to satisfy the hunger for luxury and social status, the result is exploitation, conflict and corruption increase and the atmosphere is vitiated. So in our culture that leadership is looked upon as genuine which is unrelated to political or economic power and is based on moral authority. Such leadership can in times of need exercise a deterrent control on the rulers and on government machinery. This is what we call ऋषि–शक्ति (moral or saintly force). In the present situation, perhaps, such a force will have to be raised in the form of non-political organisations, since people who assume power seem now to forget the basic *Rajadharma* which consists of caring for the material prosperity of the subjects and giving them the security needed for spiritual upliftment. Their tendency is towards unrestrained use of power for selfish ends. At such times an independent moral or saintly force restraining the rulers becomes imperative.

In the original system, ordinary workers, peasants, traders and professionals had greater scope for material comforts and luxuries, but they did not enjoy the prestige that the ascetic rulers or *sannyasis* had. The stream of knowledge and character percolated from higher levels downwards, while material facilities progressively decreased from the lowest to the top.

The result was that everyone was satisfied in his own way. No one felt jealous of another and whatever he lacked in one field was made up for in another. No one insisted that he must get the prestige of the *rishis* without performing penance like them. Everyone had the opportunity of choosing his own path according to his own ability and develop to the highest positions of the fruition of life. The path of salvation was wide open for every single individual. Since we do not see this in actual reality anywhere today, we find even its comprehension some what difficult.

Hindutva A Matter of Pride

It must be said that this Indian idea of equality is more natural, more prone to progress, closer to human sentiment, more satisfying and useful in raising the qualitative stature of the whole society, than the Western idea of equality tending to enforce uniformity. It is of course taken for granted that in any system, every one must have the certainty of securing the primary and common necessities of life like food, clothing, shelter, education and medical aid etc. If the common people are confident about getting these, further progress can be uninterrupted, except for individual exceptions. It is a mistaken notion of equality if we go on multiplying our needs and then expect equality in their fulfilment. The main principle behind social justice is that no one should be exploited and the gains of prosperity should be shared by all. If, with this all-comprehensive thought in mind, every one practices equality and breaks away from all pride (according to the tenets suggested by the saints), there will be no room for unhealthy competition, jealousy, bitterness, hatred, conflict, neglect etc. which can lead to the disintegration of society. If harmonious coordination and complementariness, the basic foundations of the *Hindu* way of life are kept in mind and the social fabric is woven accordingly, the seeds of poison which the enemies of the *Hindu* society nourish for their benefit will be destroyed and a healthy society brimming with energy and enthusiasm will take shape. It was the distinctive feature of the *Hindu Rashtra* that it built a harmonious design in the life of the people by striking a balance between apparent contraries like sacrifice and indulgence, distribution and consumption, equality and discrimination and gives individual and social life a proper direction.

But this pure and healthy character of social structure was lost sight of and this led to the creation of several distortions and unbearable evils in it. If we study carefully the basic philosophy and the actual life of the people in the Western and communist countries we fail to discover anything in them to attract us. It is not in the nature of *Hindu Rashtra* to gauge the status and prestige of human life by the vulgar show of material opulence, licentiousness in the name of individual freedom and the existence of man as an economic animal controlled by the comprehensive domination of a totalitarian regime. The traditions of *Hindu Rashtra* are entirely different. Our way consists of the concept of the totality of Man, the stable, balanced development of individual and social life on that basis and everyone's happiness, motivation of spiritual satisfaction and attainment of collective prosperity for the nation consequent to it. Our freedom should really have led to the deepening of our faith in our way of life and the concentration of our attention on reorganising our life pattern. If this longing for self-realisation were awakened, the infinite dormant strength of our *Hindu Rashtra* would burst forth in its life.

If the word *Hindu*, with this noble content is properly understood, there is no reason why we should be ashamed of being Hindus; on the contrary we should take pride in it. Pandit Deendayalji has freely used the words *Hindu Rashtra*, *Bharat, Bharatiya, Hindusthan* as synonyms. Not that he was oblivious of the fact that some people purposely attach the charge of communalism, narrow parochialism, obscurantism to these words. But he was never in two minds about asserting that the word *Bharatiya* means *Hindu*. Indeed, in some cases while referring to *Bharatiya Sanskriti*, he purposely writes in brackets, 'i.e. *Hindu Sanskriti*' so that the readers should have no confusion. As a matter of fact there need not be any confusion, yet we find it prevailing. The reason is that the congress leaders and so-called progressive thinkers influenced by Western thought did not and still do not translate Indian culture as *'Hindu Sanskriti'*. Pandit Nehru believed that India is a nation, but he claimed that there exists a composite culture here. He saw different cultures in different places. He did not accept the obvious truth that the entire *Bharat* stands together on the sole basis of its *Hindu* culture. He thought it the very limit of folly to call this nation a *Hindu Rashtra.* The same argument is adopted by the so-called 'progressives' of the Congress, Socialist and Communist groups. The fact that Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh organises the Hindus and yet calls itself 'national' or *'Rashtriya'* is to them altogether paradoxical. They think the words *'Hindubhoomi'* and *'Hindurashtraangabhoota'* (constituents of *Hindu Rashtra*) appearing in the Sangh prayers are narrow or parochial. There are a number of sympathisers of RSS also who advise the RSS to adopt the words *Bharat* and *Bharati*ya in place of *Hindusthan* and *Hindu.* But RSS looks on these words *Bharati*ya and *Hindu* as synonyms. The impact of the age old British policy is obvious in the phrase "India that is *Bharat.*" There is behind it a crafty conscious effort to make the Hindus forget their past. As a matter of fact, when we use the words *Bharat*, *Bharatiya Rashtra*, *Bharatiya Sanskriti*, what else do they signify except the *Hindu*? When foreign scholars come here to study Indian culture, what do they study ? They have no reason to come to India to study Muslim or Christian culture. For that they can better go to Turkey, Mecca or Medina or the Vatican City in Rome. They really desire to come to India and conduct research in *Hindu* traditions, ancient Sanskrit literature and the life-values accepted by the ancient traditions here.

The Foundation: A National Organisation

Those who advise giving up the word *Hindu*, either feel that the word narrows down our nation-concept or find that the word is inexpedient for them in their competitive politics. They are afraid that they would loose the votes of millions of Christians and Muslim voters. Their misconception is that the use of the word *Hindu Rashtra* excludes Muslim and Christian communities. If both these communities become one with the national cultural stream without any change in their mode of worship, if they own the ancient tradition here, if they look upon our national heroes as their national heroes and if they develop devotion for *Bharat Mata* as their Motherland with undivided fidelity, they will of course be nationals here. But somehow this thought does not occur to them. As a matter of fact, this insistence is most essential from the point of national integration. Newspapermen and political leaders use the term Indian Muslims or Indian Christians as a matter of habit, but while doing so their residence in *Bharat* and their citizenship are taken for granted. But should an Indian Muslim not be a *Hindu* Muslim and an Indian Christian a *Hindu* Christian ? The late Shri Golwalkar Guruji used to put forth this line of thinking in the clearest possible terms. It will mean that *Hindu* is the nationality and Muslim is a sect. It will mean that they accept the value system in India and own the responsibility of putting that system into practice. The word Indian today connotes only the territorial citizenship of India. It does not connote the qualitative content or manifest the distinctive national characteristics. Our leaders today do not, unfortunately, realise the importance of this national approach. And even those that do, lack the courage to state that unequivocally. They beat a retreat when they think of the resulting loss of votes in the elections.

Such mistaken notions and policies have led the whole country into a mess which cannot be cleared up without an uncompromising and fearless advocacy of *Hindu* Nationalism. Panditji tried to explain to the people with the courage of his conviction the maxim that the basis of an organisation is the Nation and in the Indian context 'Nation' means the *Hindu* nation or *Hindu Rashtra*. There was not even the least of reactionary element in his assertion. He never once said that *Hindus* should organise themselves or insist on *Hindutva* because the Muslims or Christians behave in this or that way. On the other hand, he argued that many ills gripped the *Hindu* society; the people forgot their duty to the nation, became selfish and indulged in internal conflict leading to our exploitation by the foreigners. He had looked upon *Hindu Rashtra* and the organisation of Hindus for its prosperity, as a natural and positive need of the hour. It is certainly not because he has enemies to fight with, that a man tries to become healthy and develop strength. A healthy body is a *dharmasadhana*, an instrument for living according to *dharma*. Our approach has been expressed in the statement शरीरमाद्यं खलु धर्मसाध.नम्। (The body is the primary instrument of *dharma*.) The call for an organised *Hindu* society has nothing in common with Western type organisations : peasants and workers should organise themselves to fight against exploitation; Russia and America should pile up stores of nuclear arms in fear of each other; women should organise themselves to fight male oppression. Deendayalji never once suggested this approach.

While pondering over the essentials of our national life, he became conscious of some distortions that had developed in it and drew pointed attention to them and depicted a clear picture of healthy national life. All his life, he placed before the nation the thought that whatever may be the causes of our social ills, it may be blind imitation of the foreigners or self-oblivion or ignorance or a thousand years of slavery, - they must be eradicated and our nation must be nourished with the life-giving sap of *Hindu* idealism. It must become healthy and glorious so as to fulfil its world mission. *Bharat* Mata was not to him a subject for compromise or bargain or political expediency.

It was to him an article of faith, a subject of extreme devotion and dedication. It was in this sense that he was different from the current political stream and he was pledged to make Herculean efforts so as to give proper direction to the flow of events. He was bent on dispelling all darkness, by spreading the light of self-evident nationalism of a constructive, untarnished kind, unaffected by changes in external circumstances. The word *Bharatiya* has been wrongly used to propagate a new definition of nationhood in the last fifty or sixty years. The word has lost the inspiring and enlightening value-oriented content. The word *Hindu* suggests a human ideology embracing the entire universe. Unfortunately, the word *'Bharatiya'* is used in such a way that this content is narrowed down. Deendayalji's insistence is that unless we stick fast and with conviction to the word *Hindu*, the twin objectives of national integration and the emergence of an organised society will never be attained.

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A Bit about Our Constitution

Any thought which weakened the national unity of our country, in whatever field it may be, was, in Deendayalji's eyes, dangerous and needed repudiation. He would try to promptly bring that danger home to the nation. Even though he was a political leader he would never allow the shallow populist slogans to get the better of his ever-awake patriotic consciousness. It will be worthwhile to mention two important things : the Constitution and the allied question of the reorganisation of States. In accordance with the plans of transfer of power made by the Cabinet Mission, the Constituent Assembly for India had started its work in December 1946. The representatives of the Muslim League, needless to say, formed quite a sizable cumber of the Constituent Assembly. In the middle of 1947, with the decision to create Pakistan, the pressure of the problem of the minorities in the Constituent Assembly was removed and its deliberations and decisions tended to become more and more Indian in character. Provisions like the acceptance of Hindi as the official language and Devanagri as the script, the replacement of the policy of giving greater autonomy to the States by that of making the Centre more powerful, the acceptance of the principle of 'one citizenship for the whole country' were gradually introduced and Panditji open-mindedly well-corned them. In an article 'भारतीय संविधान पर एक दृष्टि' (A glance at the Indian Constitution) written in 1947 when the process of the finalisation of the draft of the Constitution was in its last stage, he wrote in a tone of great optimism : "Because of the changing political, economic and social conditions in the country, there is a change in the mental attitudes of the members of the Constituent Assembly and a consequent change in the nature of the Constitution. So one is led to say that our Constitution is progressively changing. In every meeting, significant amendments to the nature of the Constitution are being presented to the Assembly and that is but natural. Our country is gradually returning to its original character after the achievement of independence. It is the process of the real understanding of its soul and its ethos. The ailments of the period of slavery are waning and we are regaining our inherent health. It is natural that the manifestation of our original nature should be seen in all fields of our life and its impact felt in the Constitution controlling it." From this it appears that the introduction of some clauses in the Constitution and their acceptance had raised some hopes in Panditji's mind. He felt that he saw some awakening of the national motivating force of life, *Chiti*, about which he spoke at great length later, and he was naturally delighted. But in the end the final draft of the Constitution and the policies adopted by the Government threw cold water on all his hopes of natural development. He has repeatedly expressed the opinion that our Constitution does not reflect the characteristic features of the ethos of *Bharat*. He saw that our Constitution had borrowed freely from the written Constitution of America and the unwritten one of Great Britain. Again, the law providing provincial autonomy as a first installment of independence in 1935 cast a dark shadow on our Constitution. The right to autonomy given by the legislation passed by the British Parliament in 1935 naturally reflects their crooked 'Divide and Rule' policy. But the Constituent Assembly did not make a deep enough analysis of what the British had offered so that we could reject what was harmful. In the haste and political expediency of the time, a number of divisive provisions were retained. No adequate thought was given to the effort to lead the nation to unity and no caution was observed. Even the long and ancient tradition of Indian politics was not taken into consideration from the point of view of its accessibility or otherwise in the present context. Since the analysis of the Constitution from this point of view does not come within the purview of the present endeavour, it would be out of place to discuss it here. A passing reference has been made here only because Panditji had observed that this faulty habit of thoughtlessly aping foreigners was harmful from the nationalist point of view.

Harmful Phrasing

Pandit Deendayalji's most important objection was that the provinces of our country were named 'States' after the American pattern, the foundation being thereby laid for calling India a 'Federation' of many States. It is true that every State does not have a separate constitution and that there is only one citizenship for the whole country, but Panditji saw the seeds of divisiveness in the accepted Constitution. He had insisted that the ethos of *Bharat* is such that a Unitary form of Government would fit it and that in the very first article of the Constitution, a clear statement that '*Bharat* shall be a Unitary State' was essential; for, as he had said, that would have been in keeping with the natural aspirations of India. In a Union of States, there is a feeling of cooperation for mutual convenience or mutual interest; while in a Unitary State nation is like a body and the various provinces are like its limbs. When decentralisation is introduced with this spirit carefully preserved, it gives strength to the whole body. The fear expressed by Panditji has been justified by the events of later years. Agitations for linguistic States, the intolerant language used in them, growing demands for the autonomy of States, and many other events of a similar character have all created a growing confusion about the concepts of State and Nation. Later years have shown a consistent growth of problems and agitations in order to win elections by playing on sentiments of regionalism, developing political parties on the basis of regional interests, taking an intolerant and alien stance against other States, raising demands for new States, referring to States as linguistic nationalities, speaking of the separate culture of every State, etc. In an agitation like the one started by Akali Sikhs, it is even suggested that the centre should not have any powers beyond those of foreign policy, defense, currency and transport.

Disastrous Consequences

The worst of this disastrous chain of consequences is a rise of regional parties. In Andhra Pradesh in the South Shri N.T. Rama Rao's Telgu Desam Party completely routed the Congress (I) and other national parties and won a spectacular victory in the electrons. In Tamil Nadu, the DMK and ADMK parties have held a firm grip on public opinion for the last twenty years. No all India party can make any impact there. The Akali Dal is a regional party in Punjab. It has an insatiable hunger for power and the extremist groups among them have gone to the extent of claiming that they are not Hindus and demanding the creation of a separate Sikh State 'Khalistan'. Violence has been let loose. Kashmir and N. East are both under the rule of regional parties. It has become difficult to say how far this epidemic of regional parties may spread, to what length these developments will increase tensions between Centre and States and what amount of harm it would do to national integration. It must be specially borne in mind, however, that the fearful possibility of such developments had disturbed Panditji's mind and he had made constructive suggestions. The party system in India is based primarily on the British democratic structure which we borrowed in our Constitution. But no one could foresee the immediate evil trends this system would start among the illiterate masses of India. It follows that the thinkers in our Constituent Assembly did not analyse deeply enough the traditions of Western democratic systems. The fact was not taken into account, for example, that it involved the danger of a dictatorial regime being imposed on the people through this system. Nor was consideration given to the fact that the harmful partisan attitude, if it percolates down into the deeper layers of society, would thoroughly disintegrate society, on the basis of community, sect and wealth. Alexander Solzenytsin, while speaking about Western democracies and political parties, expressed his opinion : "The moral standard of any society in which political parties are active can never rise. Can there be no other way of national development except in a two-party or multi-party democracy ? Western democracies are today trapped in political manoeuvring and spiritual confusion. It is our duty today to find a way out of this deadlock." Some Indian thinkers who desire to preclude the evil and divisive effects of partisan politics have suggested that elections at the lowest level of democracy, i.e. the Village *Panchayats*, must be stopped. It must be made obligatory that the people's representatives at that level must be unanimously elected. It should be made clear that no elections, unless they are unanimous, would be allowed. This will result in the weakening of the communal conflict and competition on the village level. Representatives who claim the confidence of the people and do not indulge in groupism will attain prominence on the village level. Party conflicts will be restricted and people will be able to elect their representatives also at the higher levels without the interference of middle-men like political party workers. Direct democracy will come into existence and it could be non-party. No such plan seems to have been thought of while framing the Constitution. It was believed at that time that the British system of democracy was the only mature form available and no elasticity was allowed by the Constitution. Panditji did not like this blind imitation which totally ignores the thinking of our ancestors. He was not oblivious to the fact that regionalism, communalism and linguistic chauvinism were nourished on the basis of our Constitution. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, the chief architect of the Constitution, had expressed this fear when he said, "If the Constitution which was given by the people unto themselves in November 1949 did not work satisfactorily we would have to say in future, not that the Constitution has failed but that the man is vile." The observation made by Dr. Ambedkar regarding Man in this warning was in fact on the national level a topic of Panditji's constant thinking. He had dedicated the whole of his life to the job of the moulding of man. It must be accepted that the motivation which, according to Indian traditions, is a basic need for man-making has not been given any thought in the Constitution.

Language is certainly one of the important factors to be taken into consideration while forming administrative units. But not enough thought was given to the fact that it is not the only factor. In 1965, even after the fifteen year period stipulated by the Constitution for making Hindi the national language of communication was over, the

Indian Government dilly-dallied with the problem of national language and the President of India also showed dereliction of duties. Panditji criticised this in very strong terms. If the government had taken due care, there was no reason why new bones of contention should have been invented to stall the issue. The opposition to the national language in the Southern States and the permanent imposition of English as an associate language could all have been avoided. Panditji firmly believed that the national ethos manifests itself best and most spontaneously in a national language. He has specifically expressed the view in one of his articles that the deliberations of the Constituent Assembly should have been conducted in Hindi instead of English and that this factor influenced the frame of the Constitution. He believed that if they had been conducted in Hindi, there would have been greater *Bharatiya* spirit in the Constitution. While writing about language, in connection with the Constitution, he says: "Our thinkers today simply cannot turn their back towards the West while thinking about anything. Leave aside the idea of turning their back on it, they can think only on the lines dictated by the West. They thought about the problems of the Constitution only through the medium of the English language. They have accepted Hindi as the official language and the Constitution might even be translated into Hindi. But it is the English version that will be considered as the authoritative version.

If the original draft of the Constitution had been prepared in Hindi or, in any other Indian language, the un-Indian element that crept into it would not have been so dominant. Language is not merely a medium of expression of thought; it is a factor determining the mode of thought. Hindi terminology, the meanings of Hindi words and the sentiment expressed through them would all have been the expression of *Bharatiya* life and the direction of its development would also have been inspired in the proper way. But in the Constitution, as it is now, it is the sentiments of the English that have found better expression than those of the Indians. Thus, our Constitution, like an English child born in India, has become Anglo-Indian in character, instead of purely Indian."

Insistence on Unitary Constitution

While advocating the Unitary form of Government for India, Panditji has provided a pure *Swadeshi* answer to the question as to how administrative units could be created without adversely affecting *Bharat*'s natural internal unity. He argues that this system would remove the unnatural tug-of-war between Federal and Unitary forms that we observe in our, Constitution. He suggests a studied, well-thought-out thesis : The method and process which led to the formation of an integrated *Bharat* could be used to nourish rational integration under a Unitary Government, while at the same time retaining the special features of various national constituents.

This system envisages one Centre; but instead of centralisation of power there, it will help decentralisaticn down to the lowest unit. The basic unit in this is the *Swadeshi* system of *'Janapada'* in which a single dialect or language is spoken and internal unity finds a beautiful expression. Vraja, Avadha, Bhojpur, Magadha, Mithila, Koshala, Kalinga, Vidharbha, Kanhadesh, Malva, Konkan, Malabar were all *Janapadas*, in each of which one Indian language was predominant. Literature is produced in that language and the *Janapadas* prove complementary to one another under the influence of their language. It was through this process that provinces like Maharashtra, Gujarat, Tamil Nadu and Bengal were formed. It would be in keeping with the history of *Bharat* to determine the direction of the development of national life in the light of all these factors taken together. While advocating this plan, Panditji has said that while thinking of the formation of provinces, the old *Janapada* idea has been completely neglected. The neglect of the language of Tulasi Ramayana is bound to make the Vraja Janapada unhappy. Kanhadeshi is not Konkani. Considering this fact, Panditji has suggested the following framework for the integrated *Bharat :*

(1) The primary administration should be the responsibility of the Village *Panchayat.*

(2) *Janapada Sabhas* should be formed on the basis of *Janapadas.* The *Janapada Sabha* should have greater authority than the

present municipalities but less than the legislative assemblies.

(3) Sovereign power should be vested in the *Loksabha.* All legislative bodies between the *Janapada Sabhas* and the *Loksabha* should be abolished. For the sake of administrative convenience, a group of *Janapada Sabhas* could be formed into a province (Not State).

(4) Heads of provinces should be under the authority of the Centre. The heads should have enough administrative or governing powers so that the encroachment of the forces of regionalism on national unity could be halted.

More than 30 years ago, Deendayalji had the foresight to write : "Regionalism is clearly raising its ugly head. The danger of a conflict between the Centre and the States is clearly looming large. So the urgent need of the hour is to organise and unite the nationalistic forces. The decentralisation of power necessary for administrative convenience should be made only at the *Janapada* level. Today's States do not think that there is any decentralisation of power : on the other hand they think that they have delegated some of their power to the Centre. That is why today's decentralisation strikes at the very root of national unity; and the life of the *Janapadas* are, on the other hand, trampled upon ruthlessly."

A Complete Mess

Against the background of the existing situation, we have a vivid realisation of the full understanding of our national ethos in Panditji's entire thinking and his inimitable style of expressing it in the *Swadeshi* terminology. In the decentralisation plans in operation today we have the districts or *Zila Parishads* at one level, but Panditji's idea of the *Janapadas*, their scope and role is in no way related to the *Zila Parishads* and their administration. On the other hand the formation of new districts and the break up and patch up of existing districts as a means of getting support for the party in power by appeasing the dissident elements is what we see everywhere. In Kerala a separate district was formed to appease the Muslims at their insistence and now another is being conceived to appease the Christian elements. The same applies to States and Provinces. The number of States is on the increase and the expensive and unnecessary existence of separate States like Goa and Pondichery with their Legislative Assemblies has been preserved. The late Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi had offered the bait of a separate new State Udayachal in the North East for the tribal at the time of the hot election campaign in the Assam State elections. Pandit Deendayalji had given a clear warning against the dangerous game being played with the future of the nation by the government and the party in power in place of interests of national unity, national integration, principles of administration, the special features of *Bharatiya* way of life and the maintenance of the coordinated system needed for these. His thoughts were expressed in topical writings regarding the Constitution - articles of contemporary interest - that was all; for he could not get the leisure to set in book-form a complete and comprehensive logical enunciation of his ideas. He did not live to see the mess of the Constitution brought about after the declaration of the national emergency in 1975. Only hints and suggestive references are found in his stray writings about what type of constitution and administrative structure we should have in *Bharat* in modern times. Some people may object that these thoughts are neither clear enough nor comprehensive enough. But it must be remembered that owing to his sudden violent death much of his thinking remained incomplete and unexpressed. The point of it all is that his entire way of thinking was ridiculed without appreciating the earnestness exhibited in his guidance. Dozens of amendments were made to the Constitution since 1950. States were rearranged or reorganised, but that was mostly for political expediency. The Indian ethos which Panditji wanted in the Constitution never found expression. Nor has the Constitution been elastic enough for that. Panditji had hoped that if the people in the country became alert and self-respecting, perhaps they would discard this foreign pattern of Constitution and will formulate a new one expressing *Bharatiya* ideals and character. Who knows what the future holds in store?

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Some Auspicious Omens of Change

In the foregoing pages we acquainted ourselves with the various facets of nationalist thought which Pandit Deendayaljj presented before our society and through that we tried to understand his ideas about our nationhood. The turn taken by events in our country after Panditji's untimely death reveals the propriety of his guidance and his foresight. It can in short be observed that this period of twenty-odd years has been one of disillusionment in more ways than one to the Indian people. It would be enough to make just a passing reference to a few important points : Though it was beaten hands down in the battle in 1965, Pakistan declared another war on India in 1971. In utter disregard for the principles underlying our Constitution-the Congress Party elected to power in accordance with our democratic Constitution, set aside the Constitution in 1975 and making use of its majority in the Parliament, tried to push the country into the quagmire of dictatorial rule. Neither the sacredness of the Constitution nor the prestige of the Parliament was maintained. In spite of the fact that Pakistan was divided into two fragments, Muslim fundamentalism is gathering strength in both its parts and its waves are assailing the mind of the Muslim population in India. This fundamentalism stands as a major obstacle in the course of assimilation of the Muslims in the national mainstream. People have begun to realize that the question of the Muslim minority, the Kashmir problem, the problem of the infiltrators in Assam and the question of the so-called communal riots erupting in a number of places in India are all, as a matter of fact, only varied forms of the same problem. India's efforts to improve relations with Pakistan have failed to bear fruit so far. On the contrary, Pakistan is again getting ready for war with the help of American and Muslim nation blocks. Simultaneously with that the plans of increasing Muslim strength in India are also gathering momentum. People have taken the bitter experience of the so-called secular administration unsuccessfully banning, for the second time, the RSS which is engaged in organising the Hindus. There is a general complaint that during the last 15 years, corruption, loss of character and economic monopolism has reached alarming proportions. Elections are held to elect people's representatives, but the nature of these elections also has become extremely distorted. Their only importance today is as a means to gain power. The public mind seems to be anxious and agitated on this point. Assam provided a painful example of how elections are used for blatant political selfishness. Elections to the Legislative Assembly were forcibly held there on the basis of electoral roles containing the names of lakhs of foreign infiltrators leading to a dreadful bloodshed. The Central Government had been claiming that the Government in Assam, elected on the one sided voting of the so-called religious minorities, in defiance of national public opinion, was Constitutional, showing how a power-mad government can make a terrible travesty of nationalism in the name of democracy.

This kind of total bankruptcy of idealism is spreading to all the organs of the body politic and the nation is being stripped of all national virtues. Dependence on and imitation of others is ever on the ascent. The old problems remain unsolved and new ones are cropping up every day. These internal tensions have reached such dimensions as could lead to violent explosion through even the most trivial excuses. Endurance seems to have reached its limits.

Impetus To Rethinking

The Prime Minister of India has been brutally murdered by her own body-guards at her own residence. All the secrets of the country are passed on, for years together, to foreign agents from the Prime Minister's Secretariat : both these happenings are shocking enough, but they are the culmination of the atmosphere bred for selfish political interests in the country, particularly in the last fifteen years. As you sow, so you reap.

The process of rethinking automatically commences when disillusionment thus emanates from the very persons about whom great hopes were entertained. Attempts have continued to be made in this country for the last seventy-five years - and particularly in the last 40 years after independence - to build the nation holding fast to the ideal of territorial nationalism. The time has come to revaluate these attempts. Observers and thinkers while analysing the causes of communal riots, no longer end by laying the whole blame at the doors of *Hindu* communalism. They have begun to take into account the Muslim attitude and to study more closely the characteristic features of the national life-stream. Socialism and communism have lost their earlier charisma. The thought seems to have gained force that if we want logical solutions to problems in economic, social, political, educational and cultural fields of life, they must be sought keeping in mind the total Indian situation. Even after six Five Year Plans, not a single problem is nearer solution; on the other hand, every agency responsible for the regulation of the society is deteriorating more and more, and anxiety is being voiced in various seminars and conferences of workers in various fields.

Whether one admits it or not, our nation is passing through a historic transitional stage. It is a search for new paths. Nor is this situation restricted to our own country alone. The search is on all over the world for new thoughts and new paths for the attainment of Lumen happiness. Disillusionment exists in America as in Russia, in Europe as well as in China. The world has actually realized that the so-called modern and progressive 'isms' are both one- -sided and unsatisfactory. In such a transitional period, great need is felt for a philosophy firmly and confidently showing the path towards an all-round solution of all the human problems. The existing vacuum has to be filled up. Pandit Deendayalji held the conviction that the *Hindu* philosophy of life has this inherent strength. This impelled him to keep before the world in the modern context the philosophy that had developed and matured here in the course of thousands of years. He has advocated the necessity of the *Hindu Rashtra* standing in all its strength on the basis of that philosophy. Fortunately for India - nay for the whole world-forces favouring that thought have started attracting the people. These forces hold out a ray of hope and give strength to those who have been disillusioned and are probing for a new useful direction turn to. The eager desire to understand the *Hindu Vedanta* thought and its practical application has been growing in the materialistic nations-both Western and communistic. The ancient Indian tradition of the *Sannyasis* moving all over the world to spread the message of *Vedanta* thought, rejuvenated by Swami Vivekanand, has been gathering momentum. But in order that it should gain the prestigious positions it deserves, the transition in India must first attain maturity and strength.

None can tell how long this process will take for its completion. For the nature of change is yet mainly internal and rather vague. Its impact on the external forms of political systems is not yet visible. May be, the forces will not be fully felt in the form of a complete change in the national life unless the mass-mind and the nation at large realize its true nature on a much larger scale. But one thing is very clear : the allergy or inferiority complex attached to the word *Hindu* is not as strong now as it formerly used to be. In fact, the word *Hindu* is now gathering a sort of prestige in the public mind. The awareness of the intrinsic bond of unity of *Hindutva* is slowly drawing upon various political parties, sects and provinces. Vast spontaneous rallies of lakhs of people proudly asserting that they are Hindus are being held in various parts of the country without much effort. This is not a mere reaction : it is the dormant love and respect for life-values gradually expressing themselves in a positive form. The intense desire to resist and overcome the internal and external aggressions on our nation is a clear indication of the great awakening. Let anyone closely analyse the sentiments aroused in our minds at the defeat of Pakistan on the battlefield and the surrender of the Pakistani army in 1971. Every Indian heart was overflowing with joy at the complete rout of the aggressors who have persistently kept up attacks on our motherland for the last thousand and odd years and whose aggression in the form of Pakistan even today has been causing us great mortification. This experience brought us to realize that our *Chiti* may have weakened but has not died. Wherever our *Hindu* philosophy or talent, technology or proficiency in sport is honoured, there is a general feeling of its being a source of national pride.

Some Auspicious Events

Some internal events also give rise to similar feelings. It is true, the disease of despondency that the *Hindu* society has been suffering from, has not been completely eradicated. Had that ailment been absent, words like 'The Assam dilemma' or the 'problem of the Sri Lankan Tamils' would never have come to our lips, and we would have striven for the solution of these problems as national issues. We would never have allowed even the faintest feeling of being deserted to enter into the minds of our brethren in those areas. But side by side with the indifference, we feel the presence of a sort of awakening and activity too; we can cite Nilakkal in Kerala as a significant illustration. The land grabs and the erection of churches there by the Christians has been an everyday affair in Kerala. The Hindus looked upon such events with indifference or with helplessness. But the thought that the institution of temples has a position of prestige in Indian national life and the Hindus can never connive at the desecration of their places of worship is spreading. It found expression in Kerala in the Nilakkal episode. Considerations of caste, sect and party - all proved secondary there and all the various institutions and organisations of Hindus unitedly came forward to protect the sanctity of their centres of devotion. As a result there was a rift in the Christian society itself and the government was forced to change its decisions. This is an excellent example of how vigilance, caution and organisation succeed in preserving national self-respect. The sense of awakening manifested by the *Hindu* society in the infamous conversion controversy in Meenakshipuram could not but have its impact. The campaign of the Vishwa *Hindu* Parishad got a tremendous response throughout the country. The *Ekatmata* campaigns organised by the VHP at the end of 1983 turned out to be the harbingers of new hope. But still, the awakening is far too slow and small as compared to the need of the hour. This expression of social awakening is free from all politics. The crooked and aggressive attempts to create obstacles in the national life-stream with a view to drying it up, in fact receive encouragement from the torpor and indifferent attitude of the nation. However numerous the problems, the only effective solution to them lies in the awakening of the ethos, love for idealism and organisation of the national *Hindu* society. It is only by this method that the essential nationalism of *Bharat* will become manifest and prove effective. That is why Panditji laid such great stress on the foundation of pure nationalistic thought and on raising an organised strength inspired by the ideal of bringing about national resurgence. It is only when this ancient nation stands up in the realization of its true spirit that real transformation could be said to have taken place. With the realization of a noble ideal, material prosperity will automatically follow as a corollary.

The nation had to suffer unlimited harm because we neglected this basic truth. We were required to face even the partition of our motherland. After accepting the natural legacy of Pandit Deendayalji we cannot but be aroused to the determination to wash away all indignity and reconstruct a powerful and prosperous nation based on *dharma*. The time is now ripe for forging ahead the work of organising our awakened nation. The experience of the last half a century has created in the nation a favourable mental attitude to accept this thought. Pandit Deendayalji in his short life has left behind for us this invaluable treasure of the knowledge of our national ethos essential to take us from darkness to light. There is great need today of the *Hindu* nation gratefully accepting this *Swadeshi* knowledge for its own elevation. There is no possibility of the acceptance of this knowledge on the governmental and the political party level. Vountary mass organizations active in various fields of life with the aim of developing a powerful nation must exert to bring people together on the non-political level. All people must work together, each in his own field, as a part of the comprehensive strategy of national reconstruction. These organisations must raise workers possessing such *Sanskaras,* so that all the fields, including the political one, will start showing signs of the impact of public opinion in every field of human life with the growing transformation among the people. This silent and peaceful revolution will bring about stability, maintain the continuity of tradition and will leave no room for evil influences. We shall experience the happiness of a harmonious life in all ways. Pandit Deendayalji showed us the way to create such a life. It is our responsibility to make all out efforts to realize his dream.

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About the Author

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Shri C.P. Bhishikar, M.A., who hails from Nagpur, joined the Editorial Team of the *'Daily Tarun Bharat'* in 1949. When the Pune edition of Tarun *Bharat* was launched in 1957, he was appointed it's Executive Editor; and he worked as Chief Editor, *Pune Tarun Bharat* from 1964 to 1978. For the last sixteen years he has been contributing a weekly column of a philosophical character in the Sunday edition. Besides daily editorials, he has produced abundant topical writing on a variety of subjects. *The Bharatiya Vichar Sadhana*, Pune has published his two books *Keshavah Sangh Nirmata* (on the life and mission of Dr. K.B. Hedgewar, founder of the RSS) and *'Shri Guruji'*. Four collections of his articles and a number of small booklets proved very popular among his readers. Now that he has retired, he spends his time usefully in writing, reading, activities connected with the RSS and the RSS family. One cannot fail to notice the influence of his spiritual bent of mind on his style and content. He is the Vice-President of the Maharashtra State unit of the RSS sponsored *JANA KALYAN SAMITI.*

हमारे मुख्य प्रकाशन

पुस्तक नाम	लेखक	मूल्य (रु.)
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Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya

IDEOLOGY AND PERCEPTION

Much has been written about the life and work of Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya, who was a living example of simple living and high thinking.

But the scope and depth covered by Shri Thengadi, Shri Nene, Shri Bhishikar, Shri Kelkar, Shri Kulkarni, Shri Jog and Shri Deodhar to present effectively the manifold aspects of Shri Upadhyaya's basic thought– both, political and philosophical, is really very commendable.

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